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GOD'S
TERRIBLE VOICE
IN THE
CITY.

Wherin are set forth

THE SOUND OF THE VOICE, IN A NARRATION
OF THE TWO DREADFUL JUDGEMENTS OF
PLAGUE AND FIRE, INFLICTED UPON THE CITY
OF LONDON; IN THE YEARS 1665, and 1666.

By THOMAS VINCENT.

ALSO

A CONCISE STATEMENT OF THE ORIGIN OF
LONDON WITH A PICTURE OF ITS PRE-
SENT STATE, FROM A LATE AUTHENTIC WORK.

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INTRODUCTION.

GOD speaks sometimes to a people by terrible things.

NLM

THESE few years have given sad instances hereof in ENGLAND especially the two last in our city of LONDON.

The voice of the Lord hath been in the city, hath been loud and full of terror ; the Lord hath come forth against us with armed vengeance. Frowns hath been in his brow ; death and desolation in his looks : thunder hath been in his voice ; flames of fire in his hand. Hab. 3. 5. The pestilence hath gone before him, and burning coals at his feet. Psal. 18. 13, 14. He hath sent forth his arrows which have scattered us, and shot forth his lightnings which have discomfited us ; the Lord hath thundered in the heavens, and the highest gave his voice, hailstones and coals of fire. Isa. 29. 6. The Lord hath visited us with storm and tempest, and great noise, y^e he hath caused his glorious voice to be heard. Isa. 30. 30. And shewed the lightning down his arm with the indignation of anger ; and with the flame of devouring fire, with scattering tempest, and hailstones ; Then the furrows of the earth were seen, and the foundations of the city were discovered ; the earth also shook because he was wroth and

*the inhabitants of LONDON trembled, because of
 his fierce anger. Psal. 18. 45 & 7. 5. then the
 snares of death compassed us. and the fears of hell
 got hold on us, and our hearts were moved within
 us. Isa. 7. 2. as trees when they are moved by
 the wind. Dreadful have God's late judgements
 been in LONDON, the noise of which hath gone
 forth, not only throughout the land, but also unto
 the outermost parts of the World.*

CONCERNING THE JUDGEMENTS THEMSELVES

HERE I might speak of the judgement executed, August 24th. 1662. when so many ministers were put out of their places, and the judgement executed, March 24th, 1665, when so many ministers were banished five miles from corporations, the former by way of introduction to the plague, which sometime after did spread in the land, but chiefly raged in the city; the latter by way of introduction to the fire, which quickly after did burn down London, the greatest corporation in England. These judgements having been so lately and general in the land, and I presume, so generally known, with all their circumstances; that it would be needless to give here a narration of them. But this I must say, I could wish they were as generally believed to be judgements, and accordingly laid to heart; for I fear that the great insensibility, which people have been under of these judgements, because they have not reached the flesh; and their sottish inconsideration of God's dreadful displeasure herein, hath provoked the Lord to send such judgements as have come nearer to sense; that they might perceive God was angry indeed before, and that his greater displeasure in the former, might be known by his more sensible displeasure in the latter.

Let London seriously consider whether her

gospel privileges were not her best defence against temporal calamities ; and whether since her slighting, abuse and forfeiture, and God's seizure and stripping her so of these, she hath not been laid naked to those heavy strokes of extraordinary judgements which she hath lately received.

London had the gospel ordinances, powerful, pure, plentiful, ministers excellently qualified, and rarely furnished with ministerial abilities ; London had as many burning and shining lights as any one such spot of ground under the cope of heaven.

Not to speak of their abilities for preaching and defence of the truth, such gifts of prayer London ministers had, which were no small defence to the city, as I believe no city in the world could parrallel.

O what Prayers have there formerly been in London pulpits, especially on days of solemn humiliation ! how have the spirits of ministers been carried forth sometime in prayer for several hours together, (without tautologies and vain repetitions) in such variety of affectionate enlargements, and with such raisedness and transports of spirit ! as if they had been just leaving the body, and going to live and abide with God, and would converse no more with men or worldly things.

In their confessions of sin, how have they raked into the dunghill of a rotten heart, and

laid abroad its inward filthiness? how have they traced the footsteps of its deceitfulness, through the maze and wilderness of its many windings and turnings? how have they pierced into the very bowels of sin, and ript it up as it were to the back bone, bringing forth its very entrails to open view? How have they anatomized as it were the body of death in all the parts and members of it, discovering withal the several diseases of every part, with their cause and manner of working? and all this in such pathetic, cutting expressions, accompanied with such brokenness and bleeding of heart as no form can imitate or effect.

In their supplications for the pardon of sin, for spiritual and heavenly riches, O with what feeling and fervour did they express themselves? O with what faith and importunity did they wrestle and plead at the throne of grace for such favors beyond the importunity of poor sinners through the gates, or poor beggars at the doors, when they are most earnest for relief? yea how did they besiege God, as it were and seem as if they would scale the walls of heaven itself, and take the kingdom of heaven with violence and force? how have they even pressed in upon God with the dint of argument and laid hold on him with the hand of faith, resolving not to let him go without a blessing?

In their supplications for the church and land they have behaved themselves as if they had no private concerns. But how did they bear

London upon their hearts when they came to the throne of grace ? What yearning bowels had they towards and for the city ? how many tears have they shed in bewailing her sins ? How have they stood in the breach, when the Lord hath been coming forth against this place. How have they held his arm when it hath been lifted up to strike ? how have they stood *weeping between the porch and the altar, crying, Spare thy people O Lord, and do not destroy London !* and many times have they prevailed to appease God's wrath, and turn away his fierce anger which hath been kindled against us.

Gospel ordinances and *Gospel ministers* were the safeguard of London, the glory and defence. But when the ordinances were slighted, and the ministers were mocked and misused by some who call of the most, and London did not yield the fruit which God looked for under such dressing ; God is provoked not only to call for some of his messengers home to himself, but also to suffer the rest, who were more conscientious, to be thrust into corners.

This, this did presage London's near approaching ruin and desolation, though few did believe it, and were insensible of God's wrath in this judgement, therefore their danger was the greater of the other judgements which have come upon them : when so many stakes were plucked out, no wonder if the hedge be broken ; when so many pillars were removed, no wonder if the building tumble to the ground.

But I proceed to give a narration of the latter judgements of Plague and Fire.

OF THE PLAGUE.

THE Plague so great, so lately, should not be forgotten ; yet lest the fire, more lately and proportionably more great, and the amazing fears which since have risen within us should shuffle former thoughts out of our minds, and rase out the impressions which by the Plague we had, and should labor to retain to our dying hour ; therefore I shall give a brief narration of this sad judgement, and some observations of mine own ; (who was here in the city from the beginning to the end of it) both to keep alive in myself and others, the memory of the judgement ; that we may be the better prepared for compliance with God's design in sending the plague amongst us.

It was in the year of our Lord 1665, that the plague began in our city of London, after we were warned by the great Plague in Holland in the year 1664, and the beginning of it in some parts of our land the same year ; not to speak any thing, whether there was any significations and influence in the Blazing Star not long before, that appeared in the view of London, and struck some amazement upon the spirits of many ; It was in the month of May that the plague was first taken notice of ; our

bill of mortality did let us know of but three which died of the disease in the whole year before ; but in the beginning of May the bill tells us of nine, which fell by the plague just in the heart of the city, the other, eight in the suburbs. This was the first arrow of warning that was shot from heaven amongst us, and fear quickly begins to creep upon people's hearts ; great thoughts and discourse there is in town about the Plague, and they cast in their minds whether they should go if the Plague should increase. Yet when the next week's bill signifieth to them the disease from nine to three, their minds are something appeased ; discourse on that subject cools ; fears are husht, and hopes take place, that the black cloud did but threaten, and give a few drops but the wind drive it away. But when in the next bill the number of the dead by the Plague is amounted from three to fourteen, and in the next to seventeen, and in the next to forty three, and the disease begins so much to increase and disperse.—Now secure sinners begin to be startled, and those who would have slept quietly still in their nests, are unwillingly awakened. Now a great consternation seizeth upon most persons, and fearful bodings of a desolating judgement. Now guilty sinners begin to look about them, and think with themselves into what corner of the land they might fly to hide. Now the profane and sensual, if they have not remorse for their sins, yet dread

and terrors the effects of guilt, they could not drive from them ; and if by company and carousing, and soft pleasure they do intoxicate and smoothen their spirits in the day, yet we may guess what dread doth return upon them, if they give but any room for retirement ; and what hideous thoughts such persons have in in the silent night, through fears of death which they are in danger of. Now those who did not believe an unseen God, are afraid of unseen arrows ; and those which slighted God's threatenings of eternal judgements, do tremble at the beginnings of his execution of one, and not the greatest temporal judgement. Now those which had as it were challenged the God of heaven, and defiled him by their horrid oaths and blasphemies, when he begins to appear, they retreat, yea fly away with terror and amazement. The great orbs begin first to move ; the lords and gentry retire into their countries ; their remote houses are prepared, goods, removed, and London is quickly upon their backs ; few ruffling gallants walk the streets ; few spotted ladies are to be seen at windows ; a great forsaking there was of the adjacent places where the plague did first rage.

In June the number increaseth from 43 to 112 the next week to 168 the next to 470 most of which increase was in the remote parts ; few in this month within, or near the walls of the city ; and few that had any note for goodness

or profession, were visited at the first: God gave them warning to bethink and prepare themselves; yet some that were choice, were visited pretty soon, that the best might not promise to themselves a supersedeas, or interpret any place of scripture so literally, as if the Lord had promised an absolute general immunity and defence of his own people from this disease of the Plague.

Now the citizens of London are put to a stop in the career of their trade; they begin to fear whom they converse withal, lest they should have come out of infected places, now roses & other sweet flowers wither in the gardens, are disregarded in the markets, and people dare not offer them to their noses, lest with their sweet savour, that which is infected should be attracted; rue and wormwood is taken into the hand; myrrhe and zedoary into the mouth; and without some antidote few stir about in the morning. Now many houses are shut up where the Plague comes, and the inhabitants are shut in, lest coming abroad they should spread infection. It was very dismal to behold the red crosses, and read in great letters, **LORD, HAVE MERCY UPON US;** on the doors, and watchmen standing before them with halberds; and such a solicitude about those places, and people passing by them so gingerly, and with such fearful looks as if they had been lined with enemies in ambush to destroy them.—Now rich tradesmen provide themselves to depart; if they have

not country houses, they seek lodgings abroad for themselves and families, and the poorer tradesmen, that they may imitate the rich in their fear, stretch themselves to take a country journey, though they have scarce wherewithal to bring them back again. The ministers also many of them take occasion to go to their country places for the summer time; or it may be to find out some few of their parishioners that were gone before them, leaving the greatest part of their flock without food or physic, in the time of their greatest need. (I don't speak of all ministers, those which did stay out of choice and duty deserve true honor.) Possibly they might think God was now preaching to the city, and what need their preaching? or rather did not the thunder of God's voice frighten their guilty consciences, and make them fly away, lest a bolt from heaven should fall upon them, and spoil their preaching for the future? and therefore they would reserve themselves, till the people had less need of them. I do not blame many citizens for retiring, when there was so little trading, and the presence of all might have helped forward the increase and spreading of the infection; but how did guilt drive many away, where duty would have engaged them to stay in the place? Now the highways are thronged with passengers and goods, and London doth empty itself into the country; great are the stirs and hurries in London by the removal of so many fam-

ilies ; fear puts many thousands on the wing, and those think themselves most safe, that can fly farthest from the city.

In July the Plague increaseth, and prevail-eth exceedingly, the number of 470, which died in one week by the disease, ariseth to 725 the next week, to 1089 the next, to 1843 the next, to 2010 the next. Now the plague compasseth the walls of the city like a flood, and poureth in upon it. Now most Parishes are infected, both without and within, yea, there are not so many houses shut up by the Plague, as by the owners forsaking of them for fear of it ; and though the inhabitants be so exceedingly decreased by the departure of so many thousands, yet the number of dying persons increase fearfully. Now the countries keep guards, lest infectious persons should, from the city, bring the disease unto them. Most of the rich are gone, and the middle sort will not stay and abide the storm. Now most faces gather paleness ; and what dismal apprehensions do then fill the minds, what dreadful fears do there possess the spirits, especially of those whose consciences are full of guilt, and have not made their peace with God ? the old drunkards and swearers and unclean persons are brought into great straits ; they look on the right hand and on the left, and death is marching towards them from every part, and they know not whether to fly that they may es-

cape it. Now the arrows begin to fly very thick about their ears, and they see many fellow sinners fall before their faces, expecting every hour themselves to be smitten; and the very sinking fears they have had of the Plague hath brought the Plague and death upon many some by the sight of a coffin in the streets, have fallen into a shivering, and immediately the disease hath assaulted them, and sergeant death hath arrested them, and clapt too the doors of their houses upon them from whence they have come forth no more, till they have been brought forth to their graves. We may imagine the hideous thoughts and horrid perplexity of mind, the tremblings confusions, and anguish of spirit, which some awakened sinners have had, when the plague hath broke in upon their houses, and seized upon near relations, whose dying groans sounding in their ears, have warned them to prepare; when their doors have been shut up, and fastened on the outside with an inscription, Lord, have mercy upon us, and none suffered to come in but a nurse, whom they have been more afraid, than the plague itself: when lovers and friends, and companions in sin have stood aloof, and not dared to come nigh the door of the house, lest death should issue forth from thence upon them; especially when the diseases hath invaded themselves, and first began with a pain & dizziness in their head, then trembling in their other members; when they have felt boils un-

der their arm, and in their groins, and seen blains to come forth in other parts ; when the disease hath wrought in them to that heighth, as to send forth those spots which (most think) are the certain tokens of near approaching death : and now they have received the sentence of death within themselves, and have certainly concluded, that within a few hours they must go down into the dust, and their naked souls, without the case of their body, must make its passage into eternity, and appear before the highest Majesty, to render their accounts, and receive their sentence : None can utter the horror, which hath been upon the spirits of such, through the lashes and stings of their guilty consciences, when they have called to mind a life of sensuality, and profaneness, their uncleanness, drunkenness, injustice, oaths, curses, derision of saints and holiness, neglect of their own salvation ; and when a thousand sins have been set in order before their eyes with another aspect than when they looked upon them in the temptation ; and they find God to be irreconcilably angry with them, and that the day of grace is over, the door of mercy is shut, and that pardon and salvation (which before they slighted) is now unattainable ; that the grave is now opening its mouth to receive their bodies, and hell opening its mouth to receive their souls, and they apprehend that they are now just entering into a place of endless woe and torment, and they must

take up their lodgings in the inferior regions of utter darkness, with devils and their fellow damned sinners, and there abide forever more in the extremity of misery, without any hopes or possibility of a release ; and that they have foolishly brought themselves into this condition, and been the cause of their own ruin ; we may guess that the despairing agonies, and anguish of such awakened sinners hath been of all the most unsupportable ; except the very future miseries themselves, which they have been afraid of.

In August how dreadful is the increase ; from 2010 the number amounts up to 2817 in one week ; and thence to 3880 the next ; thence to 4237 the next ; thence to 6102 the next ; and all these of the Plague, besides other diseases.

Now the cloud is very black, and the storm comes down upon us very sharp. Now death rides triumphantly on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into every house almost where any inhabitants are to be found. Now people fall as thick as leaves from the trees in autumn, when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets, every day looks with the face of a sabbath-day, observed with greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare, and very few that walk about insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence in almost

every place, especially within the walls : no rattling coaches, no prancing horses, no calling in customers, no offering wares ; no London cries sounding in their ears ; if any voice be heard, it is the groans of dying persons, breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves.

Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled with the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now in some places where the people did generally stay, not one house in an hundred but is infected ; and in many houses half the family is swept away ; in some the whole, from the eldest to the youngest ; few escape with the death of but one or two : never did so many husbands and wives die together ; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth, who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead ; the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall therein into their beds.

Now we could hardly go forth, but we should meet many coffins, and see many with sores, and limping in the streets ; amongst other sad spectacles, methought two were very affecting. One of a woman coming alone, and weeping by the door where I lived (which was in the

midst of the infection) with a little coffin under her arm, carrying it to the new church-yard ; I did judge that it was the mother of the child, and that all the family besides was dead, and she was forced to coffin up, and bury with her own hands, this her last dead child. Another, was of a man at the corner of Artillery-wall, that as I judge, through the diziness of his head with the disease, which seized upon him there, had dasht his face against the wall ; and when I came by, he lay hanging with his bloody face over the rails, and bleeding upon the ground ; and as I came back he was removed under a tree in More-field, and lay upon his back ; I went and spoke to him ; he could make me no answer, but rattled in the throat, and as I was informed, within half an hour died in the place.

It would be endless to speak what we have seen and heard, of some in their frenzy, rising out of their beds, and leaping about their rooms ; others crying and roaring at their windows ; some coming forth almost naked, and running into the streets ; strange things have others spoken and done when the disease was upon them ; but it was very sad to hear of one, who being sick alone, and, it is like frantic, burnt himself in his bed. Now the plague has broken in much amongst my acquaintance ; and of about sixteen, or more, whose faces I used to see every day in our house within a little while I could find but four or six of them

alive ; scarcely a day passed over my head for, I think, a month or more together, but I should hear of the death of some one or more that I knew. The first day that they were smitten, the next day some hopes of recovery, and the third day, that they were dead.

The September, when we hoped for a decrease, because of the season, because of the number gone, and the number already dead ; yet it was not come to its heighth ; but from 6102, which died by the plague the last week of August, the number is augmented to 6988, the first week in September ; and when we conceived some little hopes in the next week's abatement to 6544, our hopes were quite dashed again, when the next week it did rise to 7165, which was the highest bill ; and a dreadful bill it was ! and of the 130 Parishes in and about the city there were but 4 parishes that were not infected ; and in those, few people remaining that were not gone into the country.

Now the grave doth open its mouth without measure. Multitudes ! Multitudes ! in the valey of the shadow of death, thronging daily into eternity ; the church yards now are struft so full with dead corpses, that they are in many places swell'd two or three feet higher than they were before ; and new ground is broken up to bury the dead.

Now hell from beneath is moved at the number of the guests that are received into its chambers ; the number of the wicked which

have died by the plague no doubt, hath been the greatest, as we may reasonably conclude without breach of charity ; and it is certain, that all the wicked, which then died in sin, were turned into hell : how then are the damned spirits increased ! Some were damning themselves a little before in their oaths, and God is now damning their souls for it, and is passing the irreversibile sentence of damnation upon them. Some were drinking wine in bowls a little before, and strong drink without measure ; and now God hath put another cup into their hands, a cup of red wine, even the wine of the wrath and fierceness of the Almighty. Some were a little before feasting their senses, pleasing their appetite, satisfying the desires of the flesh, and being past feeling, had give themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness ; but now their laughter is turned into mourning, and their joy into howling and woe ; now they have recovered their feeling again, but instead of the pleasures which they felt, and their sensual delights, which took away the feeling of their consciences, they are made to feel the heavy hand of God, and to endure such anguish and horror, through the sense of God's wrath, as no tongue can express. Now the atheists believe there is a God, and the antiscip- turists are convinced of the truth of God's word, by the execution of his threatenings in the word upon them. Now the covetous and

unjust, the malicious and cruel, the scoffer and prophane, begin to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire : and the ignorant person with the civil, who are unacquainted with Jesus Christ, are not excused ; yea, the hypocrites, with all impenitent and unbelieving persons, are sent down to the place of weeping ; and hell wonders to see so many come amongst them from such a city as London, where they have enjoyed such plenty of such powerful means of grace ; and place is given to them, even the lowest and hottest, where Judas and others are of the chiefest note.

Yet hell doth not engross all that die by the visitation. Some there are (though not the first or most) who have room made for them in the mansions which are above ; the plague makes little difference between the righteous and the wicked (except the Lord by a peculiar providence do shelter some under his wing, and compass them with his favor as with a shield, hereby keeping off the darts that are shot so thick about them) yet as there is little difference in the body of the righteous and of others, so this disease makes little discrimination, and not a few, fearing God, are cut off amongst the rest ; they die of the same distemper, with the prophane ; they are buried in the same grave, and there sleep together till the morning of the resurrection ; but as there is a difference in their spirits, whilst they live, so there is a difference in their place, and state after their sep-

aration from the body. Dives is carried to hell and Lazarus to Abraham's bosom, though he died with his body full of sores ; Devils drag the souls of the wicked, after they have received their final doom at the bar of God, into utter, darkness, where there is weeping, and wailing and gnashing of teeth ; but Angels convey the souls of the righteous into the heavenly paradise, the new *Jerusalem* which is above, where God is in glory, and the Lord Jesus Christ at his right hand ; and thousand thousands stand before him, and ten thousand times ten thousand administer unto him ; even an innumerable company of angels, and where the spirits of all just men and women, made perfect, were before gathered ; where there is fulness of joy, and rivers of eternal pleasures running about the throne of God, the streams of which do make glad all the inhabitants of new Jerusalem. Now the weak prison doors of the body are broken down ; and the strong everlasting gates of their father's palace are lifted up ; and the saints are received with joy and triumph into glory, and they come with singing into ZION, and everlasting joy in their hearts, and all sorrow and sighing doth fly away like a cloud, which never any more shall be seen. Now the vail is rent, and they enter the holy of Holies, where God dwells ; not in the darkness of a thick cloud, as in the temple of old, but in the brightness of such marvellous light and glory, as their eyes never did behold,

neither could enter into their heart to conceive ; There they have the vision of God's face, without any eclipse upon the light of his countenance : There they have the treasures of God's love opened, and his arms to receive them with dearest and sweetest embracements ; which kindles in their hearts such flame of love, so ravishing and delightful, as words cannot utter : there they are entertained by the Lord Jesus Christ, whom in the world they have served, and he that shewed them his grace, which they have wondered at, when they were in the body, doth now shew them his glory, which they wonder at much more : There they are welcomed by angels, who rejoice, if at their conversion, much more at their coronation : There they sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of their Father : there they find Moses and David, and Samuël, and Paul, and all the holy Martyrs and saints, which have died before them : amongst whom they are numbered, and placed, who rejoice in their increased society.

And as there is a great difference between the condition of the souls of the righteous, and the wicked, who died by the same disease of the plague, after their death and separation ; so there is a great difference between the carriage of their spirits at their death, and upon their sick bed. Some wicked men are stupid and senseless, and are given up to a judiciary hardness, and die in a sleep of carnal security,

out of which they are not awakened, till they are awakened in the midst of flames ; others more sensible, and considering what hath been, and what is coming upon them, are filled with unexpressible terror, through the roarings and tearings of a guilty accusing conscience, and the fore-thoughts of that horrible unsupportable torment they are so near. Now scaring dreams do terrify them, and fearfulness of the bottomless pit, and the burning lake below doth surprize them, and some breaketh forth in the anguish of their despairing souls : *Who can dwell with devouring fire, who can inhabit everlasting burnings ?* And however jovial and full of pleasure their life hath been, yet at their latter end they are utterly consumed with terrors. But mark the perfect man, and uphold the upright, the end of that man is peace : whatsoever storms they have had in their passage through a rough sea the wind blowing, and the waves roaring, and sometimes have been ready to sink through oppression and discouragement ; sometimes have been overwhelmed with grief and doubtings ; sometimes have been dasht upon the rocks of terror and perplexity ; yet now they are come to the haven of death, the winds are husht and still, the waves are smooth and silent, the storm is over and there is a great calm upon their spirits ; they are past the rocks and are out of the danger they feared, when they are in the greatest danger of approaching death.

It was generally observed amongst us, that God's people, who died by the plague amongst the rest, died with such peace and comfort, at christians do not ordinarily arrive unto, except when they are called forth to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Jesus Christ. Some who have been full of doubts, and fears, and complaints, whilst they have lived, and been well, have been filled with assurance, and comfort and praise, and joyful expectation of glory, when they have lain on their death beds with this disease. And not only more grown christians, who have been more ripe for glory, have had these comforts, but also some younger christians, whose acquaintance with the Lord hath been of no long standing.

I can speak something of mine own knowledge concerning some of my friends, whom I have been withal; I shall instance only in the house where I lived. We were eight in family, three men, three youths, an old woman, and a maid; all which came to me, hearing of my stay in town, some to accompany me, others to help me. It was the latter end of September, before any of us were toucht; the young ones were not idle, but improved their time in praying and hearing, and were ready to receive instruction; and were strangely borne up against the fears of the disease and death, every day so familiar to the view. But at last we were visited, and the plague came in dreadfully upon

us, the cup was put into our hand to drink, after a neighbor family had tasted it, with whom we had much sweet society in this time of sorrow. And first our maid was smitten, it began with a shivering and trembling in her flesh, & quickly seized on her spirits ; it was a sad day, which I believe I shall never forget ; I had been abroad to see a friend in the city, whose husband had lately died of the plague, and she herself visited with it ; I came back to see another, whose wife was dead of the plague, and he himself under apprehensions that he should die within a few hours ; I came home and the maid was on her death bed ; and another crying out for help, being left alone in a sweating fainting fit. What was an interest in Christ worth then ? what a privilege to have a title to the kingdom of heaven.

But I proceed. It was the Monday when the maid was smitten, on Thursday she died full of tokens ; on Friday one of the youths had a swelling in his groin, and on the Lord's day died with the marks of the distemper upon him ; on the same day another youth did sicken, and on the Wednesday following he died ; on the Thursday night his master fell sick of the disease, and within a day or two was full of spots ; but strangely, beyond his own, and others' expectations, recovered. Thus did the plague follow us, and came upon us one by one : As Job's messengers came one upon the heels of another, so the messengers of death came so

close one after another, in such dreadful manner, as if we must all follow one another immediately in the pit : yet the Lord in mercy put a stop to it, and the rest were preserved. But that which was very remarkable in this visitation, was the carriage especially of those youths that died, who I believe, were less troubled themselves, than others were troubled for them. The first youth that was visited being asked by his father, concerning the provision he had made for his death and eternity ; told him, he hoped if he died, he should go to heaven : being asked the ground of his hopes, said, the Lord had enabled him to look beyond the world ; and when he was drawing near to his end, boldly enquired whether the tokens did yet appear ? saying, that he was ready for them ; and so a hopeful bud was nipt ; but let not the father or the mother weep, and be in sadness for him, he is, I don't doubt, with their Father and his heavenly Father, which may be their comfort.

The other also was a very sweet hopeful youth, so loving and towardly, that it could not but attract love from those that were acquainted with him. But the grace he had gotten in those years, being, I suppose, under seventeen, did above all beautify him, and stand in the greatest stead : In his sickness he had much quiet and serenity upon his spirit ; and lay so unconcerned at the thoughts of approaching death, that I confess I marvelled to see it : The sting and fear of death were strangely ta-

ken out, through the hopes which he had of future glory ; yet once he told his mother he could desire to live a little longer, if it were God's will ; She asked him why he desired it ? He told her he desired to live till fire and faggot came, and above all he would fain die a martyr ; She said if he died now he should have a crown ; he answered, but if he died a martyr he should have a more glorious crown ; yet he was not unwilling to receive his crown presently ; and went away with great peace & sweetness in his looks, to his Father's house ; and I could not blame the mother's grief for the loss of such an only son, but to be so immoderate was not well : Now I am sure it is time to dry up tears, and lay aside sorrows for the loss of him, who hath been so long filled with joys in the heavenly mansions.

I might speak of the carriage of the master in his sickness, under the apprehensions of death ; when the spots did appear on his body, he sent for me, and desired me to pray with him : told me he was now going home, desired me to write to his friends, and let them know, that it did not repent him of his stay in the city, though they had been so importunate with him to come away : but he had found so much of God's presence in his abode here, that he had no reason to repent ; He told me where he would be buried, and desired me to preach his funeral sermon on *Psal. 16 ult.* *In thy presence there is fullness of joy, and at thy right hand*

there are pleasures for ever more. But the Lord raised him again beyond the expectations of himself, friends or physicians. Let him not forget God's mercies, and suffer too much worldly business to crowd in upon him, and choak the remembrance and sense of God's goodness so singular ; but let him by his singularity in meekness, humility, self-denial, and love, zeal, and holy walking, declare that the Lord hath been singularly gracious unto him. But when I speak of home let me not forget to look abroad ; the plague now increaseth exceedingly, and fears there are amongst us that within a while there will not be enough alive to bury the dead : and that the city of London will be quite depopulated by this plague.

Now some ministers, formerly put out of their places, who did abide in the city, (when most ministers in the place were fled and gone from the people, as well as from the disease, into the country) seeing the people crowd as fast into the grave and eternity, who seemed to cry as they went for spiritual physicians ; and perceiving the churches to be open, and pulpits to be open, and finding pamphlets flung about the streets, of pulpits to be let, they judged that the law of God and nature did now dispence with, yea command their preaching in public places, though the law of man (it is to be supposed in ordinary cases) did forbid them to do it. Surely if there had been a law that

none should practice physic in the city, but such as were licens'd by the college of physicians, and most of those, when there was the greatest need of them, should in the time of the Plague, have retired into the country, and other physicians who had as good skill in physic, and no licence, should have staid amongst the sick, none would have judg'd it to have been a breach of law, in such an extraordinary case, to endeavor by their practice, though without a licence to save the lives of those who by good care and physic were capable of a cure; and they could hardly have freed themselves from the guilt of murder of many bodies, if for a nicety of law in such a case of necessity they should have neglected to administer physic. The case was the same with the unlicensed ministers which stayed, when so many of the licensed ones were gone; and as the need of souls were greater than the need of bodies, the sickness of the one being more universal and dangerous, than the sickness of the other, and the saving or losing of the soul being so many degrees beyond the preservation or death of the body, so the obligation upon ministers was stronger, and the motive to preach greater; and for them to have incurred the guilt of soul murder, by their neglect to administer soul physic, would have been more heinous and unanswerable; They that were called by the Lord into public, I suppose that few of any seriousness will deny; when the Lord did so

eminently own them, in giving many seals of their ministry unto them.

Now they are preaching, and every sermon was unto them, as if they were preaching their last. Old time seems now to stand at the head of the pulpit, with its great Scythe, saying with a hoarse voice, *Work while it is called to day, at night I will cut thee down.* Grim death seems to stand at the side of the pulpit, with its sharp arrow, saying, *Do thou shoot God's arrows, and I will shoot mine.* The grave seems to lie open at the foot of the pulpit, with dust in her bosom saying,

Louden thy cry to God, to men,

And now fulfil thy trust :

Here thou must lie, mouth stopt, breath gone,

And silent in the dust.

Ministers now had awakening calls to seriousness and fervor in their ministerial work ; To preach on the side and brink of the pit, into which thousands were tumbling ; to pray under uch near views of eternity, into which passengers were daily entering, might be a means to stir up the spirit more than ordinary.

Now there is such a vast concourse of people in the churches, where these ministers are to be found, that they cannot many times come near the pulpit doors for the press, but are forced to climb over the pews to them ; and such a face is now seen in the assemblies, as seldom was seen before in London ; such eager looks, such greedy attention, as if every word would

be eaten, which dropt from the mouths of ministers.

If you ever saw a drowning man catch at a rope, you may guess how eagerly many people did catch at the word, when they were ready to be overwhelmed by this overwhelming scourge, which was passing through the city ; when death was knocking at so many doors, and God was calling aloud by his judgements ; and ministers were now sent to knock, ~~cry~~ *then*, *then* the people began to open the ear and the heart, which were fast shut and barred before. How did they then hearken, as for their lives, as if every sermon were their last ; as if death stood at the door of the church, and would seize upon them so soon as they came forth ; as if the arrows which flew so thick in the city, would strike them before they could get to their houses : as if they were immediately to appear before that God, who by his ministers was now speaking unto them ? Great were the impressions which the word then made upon many hearts, beyond the power of man to reflect, and beyond what the people before ever felt, as some of them have declared. When sin is reprov'd and ript up, O the tears that slide down from the eyes ! when the judgements of God are pronounced, O the trembling which are upon the conscience ! when the Lord Jesus Christ is made known and proffered, O the longing desires and openings of heart unto him ! when

the riches of the gospel are displayed, and the promises of the covenant of grace are set forth, and applied, O the inward burnings and sweet flames which were on the affections ! Now the net is cast, and many fishes are taken ; the pool is moved by the angel, and many leprous spirits, and sin-sick souls are cured ; many were brought to the birth, and I hope not a few were born again, and brought forth ; a strange moving there was upon the hearts of multitudes in the city ; and I am persuaded that many were brought over into a closure with Jesus Christ ; whereof some died by the plague with willingness and peace others remained stedfast in God's ways unto this day ; but convictions I believe many hundreds had, if not thousands, which I wish that none have stifled, and with the dog returned to their vomit, and with the sow, have wallowed again in the mire of their former sins. The work was the more great, because the instruments, which were made use of, were more obscure and unlikely ; whom the Lord did make choice of the rather, that the glory by ministers and people might be ascribed in full to himself.

About the beginning of these ministers preaching, especially after their first fast together, the Lord begins to remit, and turn his hand, and cause some abatement of the disease.

From 7155 which died of the plague in one week, there is a decrease to 5538 the next,

which was at the latter end of September : the next week a farther decrease to 4929, the next to 4327, the next to 2665, the next to 1421, the next to 1031 ; then there was an encrease the first week in November to 1414, but it fell the week after to 1050, and the week after to 652, and the week after that to 333, and so lessened more and more to the end of the year ; when we had a bill of 97,306, which died of all diseases, which was an encrease of more than 79,000 over what it was the year before ; and the number of them which died by the plague was reckoned to be 68,596 this year, when there were but six which the bill speaks of who died the year before.

Now the citizens, who had dispersed themselves abroad into the countries, because of the contagion, think of their old houses and trades, and begin to return, though with fearfulness and trembling, lest some of the after-drops of the storm should fall upon them ; and O that many of them had not brought back their old hearts and sins, which they carried away with them ! O that there had been a general repentance and reformation, and returning to the Lord that had smitten the city ! The Lord gave them leisure and vacation from their trades, for the one necessary thing ; which had they improved, and generally mourned for sin, which had they improved, and generally mourned for sin, which bro't the plague upon the city, had they humbly and earnestly sought the Lord to

turn from his fierce anger, which was kindled against London, it might have prevented the desolating judgement by Fire ; But alas ! how many spent their time of leisure in toys and trifles, at best about feeding and preserving their bodies. but no time in serious minding the salvation of their souls ; and if some were a little awakened with fear, whilst the plague raged so greatly, and they looked upon themselves to be in such danger ; yet when they apprehend the danger to be over, they dropt asleep faster than before ; still they are the same or worse than formerly . They that were drunken are drunken still ; they that were filthy, are filthy still ; and they that were unjust and covetous, do still persevere in their sinful course ; cozening, and lying, and cursing, and sabbath-breaking, and pride, and envy, and flesh-pleasing, and the like God displeasing, and God-provoking sins, do abound in London, as if there were no signification, in God's judgement by the plague ; some return to their houses, and follow their worldly business, and work as hard as they can to fetch up the time they have lost, without minding and laboring to improve by the judgement, and God's wonderful preservation of them ; others return, and sin as hard as they can, having been taken off for a while from those opportunities and free liberties for sin, which they had before ; most began now to sit down at rest in their houses when the summer was gone, and the plague did not return ;

now they bring back all their goods they had carried into the country because of the plague ; they did not imagine they should be forced to remove them again so soon.

Thus concerning the great plague in London.

OF THE FIRE !

I proceed now to give a narration of the judgment of the Fire : in which I shall be more brief, it being dispatch'd in fewer days than the plague was in months.

It was the 2d of September 1666. that the anger of the Lord was kindled against London, and the fire began ; It began in a baker's house in Pudding-lane, by Fishstreet-hill ; and now the Lord is making London *like a fiery oven in the time of his anger*, Psal. 21. 9. and in his wrath doth devour and swallow up our habitations.

It was in the depth and dead of the night, when most doors and senses were locked up in the city, that the fire doth break forth and appear abroad ; and like a mighty giant refresht with wine, doth awake and arm itself, quickly gathers strength, when it had made havock of some houses, rusheth down the hill towards the bridge, crosseth Thames-street, invadeth Magnus-church at the bridge-foot ; and though that church were so great, yet it was not a sufficient barracado against this conqueror, but

having scaled and taken this fort, it shooteth flames with so much the greater advantage into all places round about, and a great building of houses upon the bridge is quickly thrown to the ground ; Then the conqueror, being stayed in his course at the bridge, marched back towards the city again, and runs along with great noise and violence through Thames Street westward, where having such combustible matter in its teeth, and such a fierce wind upon its back, it prevails, with little resistance, unto the astonishment of the beholders.

My business is not to speak of the hand of man, which was made use of in the beginning and carrying on of this fire. The beginning of the fire, at such a time, when there had been so much hot weather, which had dried the houses, and made them the more fit for fuel ; the beginning of it in such a place, where there were so many timber houses, and the shops filled with so much combustible matter, and the beginning of it just when the wind did blow so fiercely upon that corner towards the rest of the city, which then was like tinder to the sparks ; this doth smell of a popish design, hatcht in the same place where the Gunpowder-plot was contrived, only that this was more successful. The world sufficiently knows how correspondent this is to popish principles and practises ; those who would intentionally blow up King and Parliament by gunpowder, might (without any scruples of their kinds of

conscience) actually burn an heretical city (as they count it) into ashes : For besides the dispensations they can have from his holiness, or rather his wickedness the Pope, for the most horrid crimes of murder, incest and the like, it is not unlikely but they count such an action as this meritorious (in their kind of merit) which in the issue, they will find to merit the flames of eternal fire, instead of a crown of glory, which I wonder that in their way they can have the least hopes of. I believe that the people will now take more heed of them and their ways, & instead of promoting their cause, I hope that a contrary effect is produced ; and that the before indifferency of a generation more newly sprung up, who did not know them, is now turned into loathing and detestation of such a religion, as can allow of such practices. My work is not to declare what hath been proved against the Papists before the honorable committee of parliament appointed to enquire into their insolencies, and the proofs which have been given in concerning the fire, and who have been necessary thereto. No, I would rather endeavor to turn people's eyes from men to God ; for whoever were the instruments, God was the author of this evil that hath come upon us, there being no evil in the city (that is, evil of punishment) which the Lord, as a righteous, and the supreme judge, doth not inflict. And surely more of the extraordinary hand of God, than of any men, did appear in the burning of the ci-

ty of London. God could have prevented men by discovering their plots [as he did that of the gunpowder treason] before they had taken effect. God could have directed and given a blessing unto means for the quenching of it when it was first kindled. God, who hath the winds in his fist, could have gathered in the wind and laid it asleep, or so turned it the other way, that it should have been a defence to the city ; or God, who hath the clouds at his command, and the bottles of heaven in his hand, could have gathered his thick clouds together, and squeezed them ; opened his bottles, and poured down rain in abundance upon the city, so that if the wind had blown as it did, it should have blown water upon the fire, which would quickly have put it out. But the heavens at that time were brass, no showering cloud to be seen.—The fire begins, is quickly taken notice of, though in the midst of the night—*Fire ! fire ! fire !* doth resound in the streets ; many citizens start out of their sleep, look out of their windows ; some dress themselves, and run to the place. The Lord Mayor of the city comes with his officers ; a confusion there is : and London, so famous for wisdom ; and dexterity, can now find neither brains, nor hands to prevent its ruin. The hand of God was in it ; the decree was come forth ; London must now fall, and who could prevent it ? No wonder, when so many pillars are removed, if the building tumbles ; the prayers, tears, and faith which some-

times London hath had, might have quenched the fire, might have opened heaven for rain, and driven back the wind ; but now the fire gets the mastery and burns dreadfully, and God with his great bellows blows upon it, which makes it spread quickly, and go on with such force & rage, overrunning all so furiously, that the whole city is brought into jeopardy of desolation. That night most of the Londoners had taken their last sleep in their houses ; they little thought it would be so when they went into their beds ; they did not in the least suspect, when the doors of their ears were unlockt, and the casements of their eyes were opened in the morning, to hear of such an enemy's invading the city, and that they should see him, with such fury, enter the doors of their houses, break into every room, and look out of their casements with such a threatening countenance. As it is said, Lam. 4. 12. *The inhabitants would not have believed that the adversary should have entered the gates of Jerusalem :* so the inhabitants of the city would not have believed that the fire should have entered and prevailed to burn London to the ground.

That which made the ruin the more dismal was, that it was begun on the Lord's day morning. Never was there the like Sabbath in London ! Some churches were in flames that day ; and God seems to come down, and to preach himself in them, as he did in Mount Sinai, when the Mount burnt with fire ; such warm preach-

ing those churches never had ; such lightning, dreadful sermons never were before delivered in London. In other churches, ministers were preaching their farewell sermons, and people were hearing with quaking and astonishment ! Instead of a holy rest, which christians have taken on this day, there is a tumultuous hurrying about the streets towards the place that burned, and more tumultuous hurrying upon the spirits of those that sat still, and had only the notice of the ear, of the quick and strange spreading of the fire.

Now the train bands are up in arms, watching at every quarter for outlandish men, because of the general fears and jealousies, and rumours that fireballs were thrown into houses by several of them, to help on and provoke the too furious flames. Now goods are hastily removed from the lower parts of the city, and the body of the people begin to retire, and draw upwards as the people did from the tabernacles of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, when the earth did cleave asunder and swallow them up, Numb. 16. 27, 31, 32. or rather as *Lot* drew out from his house in Sodom before it was consumed by fire from heaven, Gen. 19. Yet some hopes were retained on the Lord's day that the fire would be extinguished, especially by them who lived in the remote parts : they could scarcely imagine that the fire a mile off should be able to reach their houses.

But the evening draws on, and now the fire is more visible, and dreadful ! Instead of the black curtains of the night which used to be spread over the city, now the curtains are yellow ; the smoke that arose from the burning parts seemed like so much flame in the night, which being blown upon the other parts by the wind, the whole city at some distance seemed to be on fire. Now hopes begin to sink, and a general consternation seizeth upon the spirits of people ; little sleep is taken in London this night ; the amazement which the eye and ear doth effect upon the spirit, doth either dry up, or drive away the vapour which used to bind up the senses. Some are at work to quench the fire with water, others endeavor to stop its course by pulling down of houses, but all to no purpose ; if it be allayed or beaten down, or put to a stand in some places, it is but a very little while ; it quickly recruits, and recovers its force ; it leaps, and mounts, and makes the more furious onset, drives back its opposers, snatcheth their weapons out of their hands, seizeth upon the water houses and engines, burns them, spoils them, and makes them unfit for service. Some are upon their knees in the night, pouring out tears before the Lord, interceding for poor London, in the day of its calamity ; but alas, I fear there are too few weeping Jeremiah's at the throne of grace ; too few Moses's to stand in the gap ; too few Jacob's to wrestle with the Lord and hang about his arm.

London's sins were too great, and God's anger against the city was too hot, so easily and presently to be quenched and allayed, and if by the intercession of some, a mitigation be obtained, so that the Lord doth not stir up all his wrath, utterly to destroy the place, as he did Sodom and Gomorrah ; yet none can prevail to call back that wrath, and reverse that decree which is gone forth against the city : The time of London's fall is come ! The fire hath received its commission from God to burn down the city, and therefore all attempts to hinder it are in vain.

On the Lord's day night the fire had run as far as *Garlick hithe*, in *Thames-street*, and levelled it to the ground ; and still is making forward by the water-side, and upward to the brow of the hill, on which the city was built.

On *Monday* *Gracechurch-street* is all in flames, with *Lumbard-street* on the left hand, and part of *Penchurch-street* on the right ! the fire working (tho' not so fast) against the wind that way. Before it were pleasant and stately houses, behind it ruinous and desolate heaps ! The burning then was in fashion of a *bow*, a dreadful bow it was, such an one as mine eyes never before had seen ! a bow which had God's *arrows* in it with a flaming point ! It was a shining bow, not like that in the cloud, which brings water with it, and withal signifieth God's covenant not to destroy the world any more with water ; but it was a bow which had fire in

it, which signified God's angel, and his intention to destroy *London* by fire.

Now the flames break in upon *Cornhill*, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the train of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from the houses to prevent its spreading; and so they lick the whole street as they go: they mount up to the top of the highest houses; they descend down to the bottom of the lowest vaults and cellars, and march along on both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise, as never was heard in the city of *London*; no stately building so great as to resist their fury; the Royal Exchange itself, the glory of the merchants, is now invaded with much violence; and when once the fire was entered, how quickly did it run down the galleries, filling them with flames; then came down stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filleth the court with sheets of fire; by and by down fall all the *Kings* upon their faces, and the greatest part of the stone building after them, (the founder's statue only remaining) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing.

Then, then the city did shake indeed, and the inhabitants did tremble, and flew away in great amazement from the houses, lest the flames should devour them. *Rattle, rattle, rattle*, was the noise which the fire struck upon the ear round about, as if there had been a thousand

iron chariots beating upon the stones : And if you opened your eye to the opening of the street, where the fire was come, you might see in some places whole streets at once in flames, that issued forth, as if they had been so many great forges from the opposite windows, which folding together, were united into one great flame throughout the whole street ; and then you may see the houses *tumble, tumble, tumble*, from one end of the street to the other with a great crash, leaving the foundations open to the view of the heavens.

Now fearfulness and terror doth surprise the citizens of *London* ; confusion and astonishment doth fall upon them at this unheard of, unthought of judgment. It would have grieved the heart of an unconcerned person, to see the rueful looks, the pale cheeks, the tears trickling down from the eyes, (where the greatness of sorrow and amazement could give leave for such a vent) the smiting of the breast, the wringing of the hands ; to hear the sighs and groans, the doleful and weeping speeches of the distressed citizens, when they were bringing forth their wives (some from their child-bed) and their little ones (some from their sick bed) out of their houses, and sending them in, to the countries, or somewhere into the fields, with their goods. Now hopes of *London* are gone, their heart is sunk ; now there is a general remove in the city, and that in a greater hurry than before the plague, their goods being

in greater danger by the fire, than the persons were by the sickness. Scarcely are some returned but they must remove again, and not as before, now without any more hopes of ever returning, and living in those houses any more.

Now, carts, and drays, and coaches, and horses, as many as could have entrance into the city, were loaded, and any money was given for help; five, ten, twenty, and thirty pounds for a cart to bear forth into the fields some choice things, which were ready to be consumed; and some of the countries had the conscience to accept of the highest price, which the citizens did then offer in their extremity; I am mistaken if such money do not burn worse than the fire out of which it was *rak'd*. Now casks of wine, and oil, and other commodities are tumbled along, and the owners shove as much of their goods as they can towards the gate; every one now becomes a porter to himself, and scarcely a back either of man or woman that hath strength, but had a burden on it in the streets: It was very sad to see such throngs of poor citizens coming in, and going forth from the unburnt parts, heavily laden with some pieces of their goods, but more heavily loaded with weighty grief and sorrow of heart; so that it is wonderful they did not quite sink under these burdens.

Monday night was a dreadful night, when the wings of the night had shadowed the light

of the heavenly bodies, there was no darkness of night in *London*, for the fire shines now round about with a fearful blaze, which yielded such light in the streets, as it had been the sun at noon day. Now the fire having wrought backward strangely against the wind to *Bil- lingsgate*, &c. along *Thames-street*, eastward, runs up the hill to *Tower-street*, and having marched on from *Gracechurch-street*, maketh further progress in *Fenchurch-street*, and having spread its wings beyond *Queenhithe* in *Thames-street* westward, mounts up from the *Water-side* through *Dowgate*, and *Old Fish-street*, into *Warling-street*; but the great fury of the fire was in the broader streets; in the midst of the night it was come down *Cornhill*, and laid it in the dust, and runs along by the *Stocks*, and there meets with another fire which came down *Threadneedle-street*; a little farther with another, which came up from *Wallbrook*; a little farther with another, which comes up from *Duckier's Bury*; and all these four joining together, break into one great flame at the corner of *Cheapside* with such a dazzling light, and burning heat, and roaring noise by the fall of so many houses together, that was very amazing; and though it were something stopt in its swift course at *Mercer's Chapel*, yet with great force in a while, it conquers the place, and burns through it, and then with great rage proceedeth forward in *Cheapside*.

On Tuesday was the fire burning up the very bowels of London: *Cheapside* is all in a light fire in a few hours time, many fires meeting there, as in the centre; from *Seaper-lane*, *Bow-lane*, *Broad-street*, *Friday-street*, and *Old change*, the fire comes up almost together, and breaks furiously into the broad street, and most of that side of the way was together in flames, a dreadful spectacle! and then partly by the fire which came down *Mercer's chapel*, partly by the fall of the houses cross the way, the other side is quickly kindled, and doth not stand long after it. Now the fire gets into *Black fryers*, and so continues its course by the water, and makes up towards *St. Paul's-church*, on that side; and *Cheapside* fire besets the great building on this side; and the church, tho' all of stone outward tho' naked of houses about it, and though so high above all buildings in the city, yet within a while doth yield to the violent assaults of the conquering flames, and strangely takes fire at the top; now the lead melts and runs down, as if it had been snow before the sun; and the great beams and massy stones, with a great noise, fall on the pavement, and break through into *Poith's-church* underneath; now great flakes of stone scale and peal off strangely from the side of the walls; the conqueror having got this high fort, darts its flames round about; now *Paternoster-row*, *Newgate-market*, the *Old bailey*, and *Ludgate-hill* have submitted themselves to the devouring fire, which with won-

derful speed rusheth down the hill into Fleet-street. Now Cheapside fire marcheth along Ironmonger-lane, Old-jury, Lawrence-lane, Milk-street, Wood-street, Gutter-lane, Foster-lane. Now it runs along Lotinbury, Cateaten-street, &c. From Newgate-market it assaults Christ-church and conquers that great building and burns through Martins-lane towards Aldersgate, and all about so furiously, as if it would not leave a house standing upon the ground.

Now horrible flakes of fire mount up the sky, and the yellow smoke of London ascended up towards heaven, like the smoke of a great furnace; a smoke so great as darkened the sun at noon-day, (if at any time the sun peeped forth, it looked red like blood) the cloud of smoke was so great, that travellers did ride some miles together in the shadow thereof, though there were no other cloud to be seen in the sky.

And if Monday night was dreadful, Tuesday night was more dreadful, when far the greatest part of the city was consumed: many thousands who on Saturday had houses convenient in the city, both for themselves, and to entertain others, now have not where to lay their head, and the fields are the only receptacle which they can find for themselves and their goods; most of the late inhabitants of London lie all night in the open air, with no other canopy over

them, but that of the heavens. The fire is still making towards them, and threateneth the suburbs; it was amazing to see how it had spread itself several miles in compass; and amongst other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a fearful spectacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view, for several hours together, after the fire had taken it, without flames, (I suppose because the timber was such solid oak) in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass.

On Wednesday morning, when the people expected that the suburbs would be burnt, as well as the city, and with speed, were preparing their flight, as well as they could with their luggage, into the countries, and neighboring villages. Then the Lord hath pity on poor London; his bowels begin to relent; his heart is turned within him, and he *stays his rough wind in the day of the east wind*; his fury begins to be allayed; he hath a *remnant of people in London*, and there shall a *remnant of houses escape*: the wind now is hushed; the commission of the fire is withdrawing, and it burns so gently, even where it meets with no opposition, that it was not hard to be quenched, in many places, with a few hands: now the citizens begin to gather a little heart, and encouragement in their endeavors to quench the fire. A check it had at Leaden-hall by that great building; a stop it had in Bishop-street, Fenchurch-street,

Lime-street, Mark-lane, and towards the tower: one means, under God, was the blowing up of houses with gun-powder. Now it is stayed in Lothbury, Broad-street, Coleman-street, towards the gates it burnt, but not with any great violence: at the temple also it is stayed, and in Holbron, where it had got no great footing; and when once the fire was got under, it was kept under; and on Thursday the flames were extinguished.

But on Wednesday night, when the people late of London, now of the fields, hoped to get a little rest on the ground, where they had spread their beds, a more dreadful fear falls upon them than they had before, through a rumor that the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the fire; they were now naked, and weak, and in ill condition to defend themselves, and the hearts, especially of the females, do quake and tremble, and are ready to die within them: yet many citizens having lost their houses, and almost all they had, are fired with rage and fury; and they begin to stir themselves like lions, or like bears bereaved of their whelps; and now *Arm! Arm! Arm!* doth resound the fields and suburbs with a dreadful voice. We may guess at the distress and perplexity of the people this night, which was something alleviated, when the falseness of the alarm was perceived.

Thus fell great *London*, that ancient city ! that populous city ! *London*, which was the Queen city of the land, and as famous as most cities in the world ; none so famous for the gospel, and zealous profession of the reformed religion. And yet how is *London* departed like smoke, and her glory laid in the dust ! How is her destruction come, which no man thought of, and her desolation in a moment ! How do the nations about gaze and wonder ! How do the whole land tremble at the noise of her fall ! How do her citizens droop and hang down their heads ! her women and virgins weep, and sit in the dust ! Oh, the paleness that now sits upon the cheeks ! the astonishment and confusion that covers the face ! the dismal apprehensions that arise in the minds of most, concerning the dreadful consequences which are likely to be of this fall of *London* ! How is the pride of *London* stained and beauty spoiled ! her arm broken, & strength departed ! her riches almost gone, and treasures so much consumed ! The head now is sick, and the whole body faint ; the heart is wounded, and every other part is sensible of its stroke ! Never was *England* in greater danger of being made a prey to foreign power, than since the firing and fall of this city, which had the strength and treasure of the nation in it. How is *London* ceased, that rich city ! that joyous city ! one corner indeed is left, but more than as many houses as were within the walls, are turned into ashes.

The merchants now have left the Royal Exchange ; the buyers and sellers have now forsaken the streets : Gracechurch-street, Cornhill, Cheapside, Newgate-market, and the like places, which used sometime to have throngs of traffickers, now are become empty of inhabitants ; and instead of the stately houses which stood there last summer, now they lie this winter in ruinous heaps. The glory of London is now fled away like a bird, the trade of London is shattered and broken to pieces, her delights also are vanished, and pleasant things laid waste ; now no chaunting to the sound of the viol, and dancing to the sweet music of other instruments ; now no drinking wine in bowls, and stretching on the beds of lust ; now no excess of wine and banquetings ; no feasts in halls, and curious dishes ; no amorous looks and wanton dalliances ; no ruffling silks, and costly dresses ; these things in that place are at an end. But if houses for sin alone were sunk, and fuel for lust only were consumed, it would not be so much ; but the houses also for God's worship, (which formerly were a bulwark against the fire, partly through the fervent prayers within them) now are devoured by the flames, and the habitations of many who truly fear God, have not escaped ; and in the places where God hath been served, and his servants hath lived ; now nettles are growing ; owls are screeching ; thieves and cut-throats

are lurking ; a sad face there is now in the ruinous part of London ; and terrible hath the voice of the Lord been, which hath been crying, yea, roaring in the city by these dreadful judgments of the plague and fire, which he hath brought upon us.

Thus you have the narration of the judgments of the Plague and Fire.

PICTURE OF LONDON.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

THERE is scarcely any material point in the earlier part of the *History of London*, that is not involved in some degree of obscurity. The origin of the town, the etymology of its name, the founder of its walls, their course and extent, and even its original site, have all furnished antiquaries with fruitful topics of discussion. At the present period probability is all that any of these topics afford ; and respecting our own subsequent conjectures, we can only say that they do not clash with the unquestionable facts of history, and are at least as probable as any that have been raised by preceding writers.

Origin of London ; and Etymology of its Name.

London appears to have been founded in times prior to the invasion of *Caesar*, by the inhabitants of *Britain*, descended from the *Goths*, who had emigrated from *Scandinavia*.

In the ancient language of the Goths, *Lund* signified a *Grove*, and *Den* a *Town*; and, at this day, there are, in *modern Scandinavia*, towns or villages which retain the common name of *Lunden*. The first rude towns of the Goths were *places of strength in woods*; the northern Gauls, who were Goths from Scandinavia, traded with Britain; and it is probable, the southern parts of the island, with which they carried on their traffic, had been seized and colonized by that bold and adventurous race. As to the silence of Cæsar relative to London, which some have urged as a proof that the town did not exist at the time of his invasion, it ought rather to be taken as a proof which may be added to many others, that Cæsar never reached the Thames, and that the river he describes, and which antiquaries hastily concluded to be the *Thames*, was no other than the river *Medway*.

But *London*, before the Romans introduced the arts into the island, could be nothing more than a rude fastness, or an emporium suited to the commerce of the times. The first mention of *London*, in authentic history, is by Tacitus, who speaks of its being sacked in the year 61, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Nero, by the British Queen *Boadicea*; and, from his relation of that event, it appears that it was then a place of importance among the Roman possessions in Britain. He says that it was "the

chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce." It is afterwards mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, a Latin author in the reign of the Emperor *Julian*, who calls it "*Vetustum oppidum*," an ancient town.

State of London under the Romans.

The condition of *London* under the Romans was that of a *Præfecture* ; that is to say, a place governed by Roman laws, administered by a magistrate called a *Præfect*, annually sent from *Rome* ; and it is probable that the inhabitants were Romans and Britons, living together under the government and protection of *Rome*. The ample discoveries that have been made in *London* of Roman remains, are so many proofs, that under the dominion of that people it was a little *Rome*, not only encompassed with strong walls, but adorned with convenient and magnificent structures.

Original Site of London.

Some antiquaries imagine the first site of *London* to have been on the south side of the *Thames* : but there is no reason to believe the original town stood on any other spot than the peninsula on the northern banks formed by the *Thames* in front ; the river *Fleet* on the west ; and the stream afterwards named *Walbrook* on the east.

Walls ; Military Roads ; and Gates.

The walls were unquestionably reared by the Romans ; but under which of the emperors it is impossible to determine. Their original boundaries seem to have been Ludgate-hill on the west ; a spot near the site of the Tower on the east ; Cripplegate on the north ; and Thames-street on the south.

Four great Military roads extended from London into the county ; the Prætorian way, afterwards named by the Saxons Watling-street, passing under a gate of the north side of the site of the modern Newgate ; the road to Dover, beginning at Watling-street, and passing the Trojectus or ferry at Dowgate ; the Hemm-street, passing under Cripplegate ; a road that passed under Aldgate by Bethnal-green to Old Ford ; and a pass through the river Lea to Drolicum, the modern Layton in Essex.

It is probable the gates were originally only four in number, Newgate, Cripplegate, Aldgate, and Dowgate, corresponding with the great military roads, to which six others were added, as new roads were constructed, namely, the Postern on Tower-hill, Bishops-gate, Moor-gate, Aldersgate, Ludgate, and Bridgegate. The walls, immediately previous to their being demolished, were more than three miles in circumference ; guarded, on the three sides next the land, with fifteen lofty towers. But it is certain that the walls were originally of considerable less extent ; for in the reign of Ed-

ward IV. the circuit of them is given with great accuracy, which is as follows : From the Tower to Aldgate was 82 perches : from Aldgate to Bishopsgate, 86 perches ; from Bishopsgate to Cripplegate, 162 ; from Cripplegate to Aldersgate, 75 ; from Aldersgate to Newgate, 66 ; and from thence to Ludgate, 42 perches ; from Ludgate to Fleet-ditch, 60 perches ; and from Fleet-bridge to the Thames, 70 perches ; making the whole extent of the wall at that time something more than two miles.

State of London from the evacuation of the Romans till seized by the Saxons.

After the Romans, in the decay of their empire, relinquished Britain, London continued in possession of the Britons for more than ninety years, before it fell into the hands of the Saxons ; but, in the general confusion of the country during the Saxon invasion, the commerce of London would decline, and of the nature of its civil government, in that interval, it is impossible to determine.

Its State under the Saxons and Danes.

On the establishment of Heptarchy, or the seven Saxon kingdoms in Britain, London was the capital of the kingdom of the East Saxons, or Essex ; and again rose into consequence as a commercial town. When the Saxon kingdoms were resolved into one monarchy under Egbert, London did not immediately hold the

first rank ; Winchester, Canterbury, and York, being all of higher consideration, till the time of Alfred the Great, who constituted London the capital of all England. During the ravages committed in Britain by the Danes, London principally suffered ; but after the wounds inflicted by the Danish invasion were healed, London began to grow into that prosperity which has since exalted it above all the commercial cities in the world.

Respecting the nature of the civil government of London under the Saxons and Danes, we have some, tho' far from complete, information. The civil powers, seem to have been chiefly exercised by the Bishop, and the Portreve or Portgrave, a magistrate appointed by the king ; but it is scarcely to be doubted that part of the civil authority resided in the body of the citizens. It is plain, from subsequent records under the Norman kings, referring to former times, that the citizens of London enjoyed various privileges and immunities ; they were free from all base service and tenure ; and it may be fairly concluded, from a view of that part of its history, that the city enjoyed a government of a mixed, and in some degree of a popular, nature.

Its State under the Normans.

At the conquest of England under the Normans, London was a place of great wealth and power ; and its civil government and privileges,

as they existed under the Saxons, were confirmed by a charter of William the Conqueror. The immediate successors of William alternately harrassed the city with their usurpations and lawless acts, and soothed it with new charters to confirm old privileges or grant new ones, till at length the civil government of London took a form very little different from that by which it is at present distinguished. The title of Portreve was lost in that of bailiff, and afterwards of mayor, names derived from the Norman language, and the municipal power became gradually vested in the citizens.

In the reign of Henry 1. London obtained a most important grant, by the annexation of the county of Middlesex to its jurisdiction, with the power of appointing a Sheriff of that county from among themselves. This was done to prevent its being any longer an assylum for bankrupts and fraudulent persons; who, having deserted London with the goods and effects of their creditors, lived there in open defiance of those they had injured. Before the grant of this charter, London appears to have been entirely subject to the arbitrary will of the king. But the liberties of the citizens being now guarded by so strong a fence, they endeavored to secure their customs by converting them into written laws; and the several bodies professing the arts and mysteries of trade, were now strengthened by being formed into com-

panies. The king, however, reserved the power of appointing the Portreve and chief officers of the city to himself.

Its State from the Reign of Stephen till that of Edward III.

In the ensuing reign the Londoners purchased from Stephen, whose cause they espoused, the right of choosing their own Sheriffs. They were, however, severely treated by Matilda, the mother of Henry III. In the reign of Richard I. London was disgraced by the massacre of nearly all the Jews residing in it, the chief incitement to which appears to have been their opulence, and in the subsequent reigns they were plundered and persecuted with the most unrelenting cruelty, and at length in the reign of Edward I. expelled the kingdom. In the reign of King John, Henry Fitz-Alwyn was first elected to the trust of Mayor, a dignity he had held under a different name for twenty years successively before, but by the nomination of the prince. Henry III. harrassed the citizens by seizing their old charters and making them purchase new ones, violating every principle of honor and justice, and not paying the least regard to his word, his promise, or his oaths. In the reign of Edward I. we find the city divided into twenty-four wards, the magistrate of each of which had the ancient Saxon title of Alderman; and each ward chose some of the inhabitants as common councilmen, who

were sworn into their office : these were to be consulted by the aldermen ; and their advice followed in all public affairs belonging to the city.

In Edward the Third's reign, the city obtained great additions to its privileges ; among other immunities granted was one, that the Mayor should be constantly one of the judges of oyer and terminer for the trial of criminals confined in Newgate, that the citizens should have the privilege of trying a robber within the jurisdiction of the city, and the power of reclaiming a citizen apprehended elsewhere for felony, in order to try him within its walls, with a right to possess the goods and chattels of all felons convicted within their jurisdiction ; that the city liberties should not be seized for a personal offence, or the iniquitous judgment of any of its magistrates, and that no market should be kept within seven miles of the city of London. By a second charter, Southwick was granted to the citizens, and a few years afterwards a privilege was granted for a gold or silver mace to be carried before the chief magistrate, as well as the title of *lord* added to that of mayor. In 1348, London suffered dreadfully by a pestilence, and so great was the mortality, that the common places of burial for the dead were not found sufficient. On the site of the present Charter-house, no less than 50,000 are said to have been interred.

From Richard II. to Henry V.

In the fifth year of Richard II. the rebellion took place which was headed by Wat Tyler. London suffered severely by it, as the rebels burnt or destroyed an immense deal of property.

In 1392, the king on some trivial pretext, for the purpose of gaining money, degraded the mayor and sheriffs, and fined the citizens in the sum of 3000 marks, and afterwards, though they submitted with great servility, in an additional one of 10,000 pounds, before he would restore to the city the right of choosing its own magistrates. In 1398 he repeated these exactions with additional severity, so that when Henry of Bollingbroke was invited to assume the crown, he was received with open arms. Henry the Fourth extended the privileges of the city in several instances. In his reign a dreadful plague carried off no less than 30,000 of the inhabitants, whereby corn became so cheap, that wheat sold for 3s. 4d. the quarter. In the same year, 1409, John Bradby or Badby was placed in a cask, and burnt in Smithfield for adhering to the doctrines of Wickliffe. In the reign of Henry the Fifth, the citizens chiefly distinguished themselves by the splendid cavalcade with which they conducted that brave prince through the city, on his return from the field of Agincourt. In 1416, Sir Henry Barton, mayor, first ordered lanterns to be hung out to illuminate the streets by night. In 1419, Sir Thomas Eyre, compassionating the distress of

the poor in times of scarcity, built Leaden-hall at his own expense, and gave it to the city to be employed as a public granary. It is now used as a market for poultry, meats, hides, and leather. In this year Sir Richard Whittington was mayor for the third time ; some idea may be formed of his wealth from the following circumstance : having invited Henry and his Queen to an entertainment at Guildhall, immediately after the conquest of France, he caused a fire to be made of odoriferous woods, in which he burnt bonds of the king's to the amount of 60,000 pounds, due to various companies, which Henry had borrowed to pay his army in France : he then told the king that he had bought up and discharged those debts, and made him a present of them. Besides this act of public good, he founded and endowed several charities.

From Henry V. to Queen Elizabeth.

From the first institution of the mayoralty till 1454, the procession to Westminster, where the Lord Mayor takes the oath, had been constantly made on horseback. But in this year Sir John Norman, draper, being mayor, caused a barge to be made at his own expense, and in that was rowed to Westminster, attended by those companies which had barges, in a superb manner. Edward the Fourth granted a new charter of confirmation to the citizens, and ex-

tended their privileges. The year 1473 was remarkable for the alteration which was made in the election of the Mayor and Sheriffs; for it was ordained, by an act of Common Council, "That for the future the choice of Mayor and Sheriffs should be in the masters, wardens, and liveries, of the city corporations; which is continued to the present time. About this period a fresh pestilence broke out, and raged for nearly a twelvemonth. In the beginning of the reign of Henry the Seventh, the sweating sickness first appeared, carrying off great numbers within four-and-twenty-hours. The conduct of this prince to the citizens was very base and oppressive; for, though they had voluntarily raised money for him several times to a great amount, he plundered them in the most shameful manner. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, about the year 1518, the sweating sickness made its second appearance, and carried off a considerable proportion of the population. Its third appearance was in 1528, when the greater part of those attacked died in the short space of five or six hours afterwards. The year 1525 was marked by a singular boldness in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, who not only combatted the design of Wolsey to exact supplies for his master without parliamentary consent, but even successfully opposed the practice of what was termed *benevolence*, by which Henry's predecessors had been so often benefitted. The plague again

raged about this time. At the grand dissolution of monasteries, &c. which took place about 1537, it is almost incredible how many magnificent churches, cloisters, dormitories, libraries, and other buildings, as well in the metropolis as elsewhere, which had been erected at an immense expense of money and labor, were unroofed and ruined. In Edward the Sixth's reign the city gained very extensive privileges.

State of London under Queen Elizabeth.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth commerce received a new impulse by the erection of a building, afterwards called the Royal Exchange, for the meeting of merchants to transact their business. In 1588, when the country was threatened by the Spaniards with invasion, the city unanimously resolved not only to raise ten thousand troops, but voted sixteen of the largest ships in the river Thames, and four pin-naces, or light frigates: they were fitted out in a proper manner, with the utmost expedition, and the charge defrayed both of men and ships during the time they continued in the queen's service. In 1594, they fitted out six ships of war, and raised 405 men for her majesty's service. Twice in the next year they raised 1000 men. And in 1597, when the rumor was spread of another invasion by the Spaniards, they produced 6000, and equipped 16 men of war. Yet, extraordinary as it may seem, the

various services they rendered did not obtain them through this whole reign a single accession to their privileges. Almost the whole commerce of England, however, at this period was centered in London; for it appears that the customs of that port were seven times greater than those of all the rest of the kingdom; and although the citizens were taxed in a much higher proportion than the people in the country, yet it has been seen they were willing, in cases of emergency, to be rated above their proportion, which had formerly been estimated at a tenth, when others paid only a fifteenth.

From James I. to the Fire in London.

The plague which had broken out many times in Queen Elizabeth's reign appeared afresh in 1603, on the accession of James the First to the throne, and made such dreadful devastation, that between March and December it swept away no less than 30,561 persons: and though its greatest violence ceased the following year, it did not entirely leave the metropolis till 1611. In this reign London received very considerable improvement, the New River being brought to Islington from Amwell, in the neighborhood of Ware, in 1613. In the ensuing year Smithfield was paved, and in 1615 the sides of the principal streets, which had before been laid with pebbles, were now paved with broad free-stone flags. From the beginning of his reign, Charles and the city

were at variance. Dispute arose in relation to ship money, loans, and other grievances. The city was deprived of some advantages gained in the preceding reign, and answered 50,000 pounds. By the king's tyrannical conduct, the citizens entered heartily into the measures of the parliament against him, and fortified their city with forts, joined by a line of communication, formed by a rampart of earth, which on all sides surrounded London, Westminster, and Southwark. Shortly after Charles's execution, Sir Abraham Reynoldson, then Lord Mayor, refusing to proclaim the abolition of monarchy, was degraded from his office and imprisoned; a more obsequious one was then chosen. On the death of Cromwell, the common council made a strong opposition to the committee of safety, declared for a free parliament, & refused to advance resources, when government drew out the effects of such an opposition, and sent Gen. Monk to march his army into the city, who broke and cut to pieces the city gates, bastilles, and posts. On the 29th of May, 1660, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went out and met Charles II. in St. George's Fields. In 1663, the king granted the city a confirmation of all their ancient charters, privileges, liberties, rights, and customs; and the citizens in return advanced considerable sums of money towards carrying on the war with Holland, for which they were thanked by both houses of parliament.

The great Plague, 1665.

About the beginning of May, 1665, one of the most terrible plagues that ever was inflicted on this or perhaps any other kingdom broke out in London; and as this was happily the last visitation of this kind, it may be proper to give a short account of its Rise and Progress.

The week in which the plague was first discovered, it carried off nine persons, and spread an universal dread through every rank in the metropolis, but the week after the sufferers being reduced to three, the fears of the citizens abated. In succeeding weeks however the number progressively increased, and in time the deaths were not less than 470 a week. The Nobility, gentry, and principal citizens, now fled with precipitation, and in July the number increasing to 2010, the generality of the houses were shut up, the streets deserted, and scarcely any thing to be seen in them but fires to purify the air, coffins, carts for the dead, doors marked with red crosses, and the inscription of "Lord, have mercy upon us!" and little heard but the voice of lamentation, the groans of the dying, the tolling of bells for those that were ready for the grave, and the dismal call of *bring out your dead!* In September death rode triumphant, for the number of the dead then amounted in one week to 6988; in the next week it decreased by nearly 400, but again rising to 7165, the survivors were struck with the dreadful apprehension that in a few days

the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead ; in this, however, they were happily mistaken, for the contagion gradually diminished, having swept away according to Lord Clarendon, who thought the computation underrated, 160,000, though Dr. Hodges collected from the bills of mortality only 68,596.

The great Fire, 1666.

The plague had scarcely ceased, or those who had fled returned to their habitations, when the city was visited by a tremendous calamity, more summary in its execution than that dreadful disease. This was the *Fire of London*, which broke out on Sunday, September 2d, 1666. This deplorable event began about one in the morning, in Pudding-lane, near New Fish-street, which being in a quarter of the town closely built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day-light, that it became too powerful to be mastered by any engines, or working near it. A violent easterly wind spread the flames up Gracechurch-street, and downwards from Cannon-street to the water-side. It raged in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday ; but on the evening of the latter day, the fire meeting with brick buildings at the temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, and towards Wednesday evening a stop was put to it at the Temple Church, near Holborne bridge, Pic-corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower

end of Coleman-street, at the end of Binsinghall-street, by the postern at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, in Cornhill, at the Church in Fenchurch-street, near Clothworkers' Hall in Mindel Lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-door; and on Thursday, September 6th, it was wholly extinguished.

Notwithstanding the extent of the conflagration, not more than six people perished; but the destruction of churches, halls of companies, and other public buildings, and the houses of the old citizens, was immense. The value of property of all kinds destroyed by the fire was computed at 7,335,000 pounds. The number of houses burned were about 13,200.

Its State after the Fire.

Before the fire London, which like most great cities had arisen from small beginnings, was altogether inclement, inconvenient, and very unhealthy; which latter misfortune, without doubt, proceeded from the narrowness of the streets, and the unaccountable projections of the buildings, that confined the purifical air, and joined with other circumstances, such as the want of water, rendered the city seldom free from pestifential contagion. The fire, which consumed the greater part of the city, dreadful as it was to the inhabitants at that time was productive of consequences which made ample amends for the losses sustained by individuals:

but it is ever to be lamented, that the magnificent, elegant, and useful, plan of the great Sir Christopher Wren, for re-building it, was totally disregarded and sacrificed to the selfish views of private property.

London, however, arose from its ashes with new beauty : the streets were no longer narrow and inconvenient, the houses were no longer suffered to be built of wood, and the plague which till then had paid it frequent visits, left not a pestilential symptom in the city ; evincing the truth of that common though just remark in the history of human affairs, that those incidents which are regarded as the heaviest misfortunes in their event, prove favourable and necessary circumstances to future happiness.

Till 1680, little deserving historical notice occurred ; but the City, impatient at the slowness of the court in the popish plot, remonstrated strongly to the king, which so highly offended him, that he declared their privileges forfeited, and their charter at his disposal. On the accession of James II. he singled out one of the aldermen as a sacrifice to Popery, but on the intention of the Prince of Orange to grant the nation assistance against the introduction of Popery, being known, the king displayed his cowardice. Prompted by fear, he sent for the lord mayor and aldermen, and promised to restore their charter in its full extent, which he accordingly did on the 6th of October, 1688. As

the citizens had contributed very much to the revolution, they had little difficulty in getting a full confirmation of their rights and privileges, from William and Mary. With the exception of the act for building fifty new churches, nothing of import occurred in Anne's reign. The year 1720 was remarkable for the most extraordinary bubble ever heard of in any Kingdom. (*Vide South Sea House.*) In 1733, the citizens enrolled themselves by their successive exertions against that corrupt minister Sir Robert Walpole, especially in his scheme for a general excise. During his present majesty's reign, London has undergone, from the spirit and wealth of the citizens, a multitude of improvements. In 1771, the lord mayor and one of the aldermen were committed to the Tower for defending the rights and freedom of the city from violation. In 1780, London was disgraced by the most frightful enormities committed by a riotous mob, under the plea of religion! The terror that was then spread is yet alive in the memory of thousands.

London is at present governed by a Lord Mayor, two Sheriffs, twenty-five Aldermen, and 236 Common Councilmen.

Its Military Government.

The military government of London is not so clearly to be traced as its civil institutions.

It is probable, that in the time of the Saxons every citizen was a soldier. London repulsed

the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, the second English monarch of that name ; and in 896, the citizens made a part of the gallant army of Alfred when he attacked the Danes in Hertfordshire.

To Edward the Third we are principally indebted for the great encouragement of archery, in the practice of which the citizens of London afterwards became so famous. The long bow appears to have come into general use about the time of Edward ; although the fields of Finsbury, according to Stow, were not occupied by the citizens of London for its regular practice till 1498. From that period till the grand rebellion, archery received continual encouragement ; and, though in the succeeding reigns it fell into disrepute, the citizens of London appear never to have forgotten its ancient glory. The artillery company still has an archer's division, and till within a few years many of the ancient shooting butts were to be seen among the fields in the neighbourhood of Flookton.

This company and the trained-bands composed the military force of London till recently, when they were superseded by its present military constitution. The Artillery Company was a voluntary association, which consisted chiefly of the principal citizens, and amounted to about 400 men. The trained-bands of the city were a body of nearly 10,000 men, under the direction of a commission called the Lieut-

tenancy of London, of which the lord mayor and aldermen were members. Besides the city trained-bands, there were two regiments belonging to the Tower-hamlets, the suburbs of London to the east, which amounted to more than 4,000 men ; and a regiment belonging to the city of Westminster, consisting of more than 4,000 men ; and a regiment of nearly 2,600 men belonging to the suburbs, lying within the jurisdiction of the county of Middlesex ; the whole amounting to more than 25,000 men.

Its Ecclesiastical History.

That London was converted to Christianity under the Romans is certain ; but its ecclesiastical history during that period is very much broken. Restitutus, bishop of London, was one of the three British bishops who, in 314, were delegated to the council of Arles in France. Theon, the last Roman or British bishop of London, retired, in the latter end of the sixth century, to Wales, from the persecution of the Saxons, who were Pagans, and established their native worship in the parts of Great Britain conquered by them. London was again converted to Christianity about the year 604 under Sebert, the third king of the East Saxons, by Melitus, who was ordained its bishop by Augustine, the archbishop of the English. Ethelbert, king of Kent, to whom

Sebert was tributary, and who had been converted by Augustine, built the first Saxon christian church in London, which he dedicated to St. Paul ; and from the double circumstance of the kingdom of the East Saxons being tributary to that of Kent, and Melitus being missionary of Augustine, it has happened that London is the suffragan of the see of Canterbury. Under the immediate successors of Sebert, London returned to Paganism : but in the reign of Sigbert the Good, the sixth king of the East Saxons, it was again converted by Cedda, a Northumbrian priest, who was the first Saxon ordained Bishop of London. In a subsequent reign London returned partially to Paganism ; but its apostacy was of short duration.

The city of London is at present an episcopal see ; and its ecclesiastical government is vested in its bishop, archdeacon, and other clergy.

The civil and ecclesiastical governments of the city of Westminster, are vested in the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster ; but the civil powers are (since the reformation) exercised by a high-steward, deputy-steward and high bailiff, sixteen burgesses, and their officers, under the authority of the dean and chapter.

General Discription of London.

London is situated in the latitude of 51 degrees 31 minutes north ; at the distance of 500 miles southwest of Copenhagen ; 190 west of Amsterdam ; 660 northwest of Vienna ; 225 northwest of Paris ; 690 north-east of Madrid ; 750 north-west of Rome ; and 1500 north-west of Constantinople.

It extends, from west to east, along the banks of the river Thames, being distant from the sea about sixty miles. It consists of three principal divisions ; the city of London, the city of Westminster, and the borough of Southwark, with their respective suburbs. The two former divisions are situated on the northern side of the Thames, in the county of Middlesex great part of them lying on hills, and forming a grand and beautiful amphitheatre round the water : the latter, on the southern bank, in the county of Surry, on level ground, and anciently an entire morass.

The length of London from Hyde Park corner to Poplar is about seven miles, exclusive of houses that on each side line the principal roads to the distance of sveral miles in every direction ; the breadth is irregular, being, at the narrowest part, not more than two, and at the broadest, almost four miles. The soil is chiefly a bed of gravel, but is in many places mixed with clay. The air and climate are neither so settled nor temperate as some other parts of the world ; yet London is perhaps, the

most healthy city of Europe, from a variety of circumstances which we shall have occasion to notice. The tide in the river flows 15 miles higher than London ; but the water is not salt in any part of the town, and it is naturally very sweet and pure. The river is secured in its channels by embankments and, when not swelled by the tide or rains, is not more than a quarter of a mile broad nor in general more than 12 feet in depth ; at spring tides it rises 12 and sometimes 14 feet above this level, and of course its breadth is increased. The principal streets are wide and airy, and surpass all others in Europe, in their convenience for trade, and the accommodation of passengers of every description ; they are paved in the middle, for carriages, with large stones in a very compact manner, forming a small convexity to pass the water off by channels ; and on each side is a broad level path, formed of flag stones, raised a little above the centre, for the convenience of foot passengers. Underneath the pavements are large vaulted channels called sewers, which communicate with each house by smaller ones, and with every street by convenient openings and gratings, to carry off all filth that can be conveyed in that manner into the river. All mud or other rubbish, that accumulates on the surface of the streets, is taken away by persons employed by the public for the purpose. London does not excel in the number of buildings celebrated for grandeur or beauty ; but, in

all the principal streets, the metropolis is distinguished by an appearance of neatness and comfort. Most of the great streets, appropriated to shops for retail trade, have an unrivalled aspect of wealth and splendor. The shops themselves are handsomely fitted up, and decorated with taste ; but the manufactures with which they are stored form their chief ornament. It has been estimated that London contains about 8000 streets, lanes, alleys, & courts ; 60 squares, and 160,000 houses, warehouses, and other buildings. London abounds with markets, warehouses, and shops, for all articles of necessity or luxury ; and, perhaps, there is no town in which an inhabitant, who possesses the universal medium of exchange can be so freely supplied as here with the produce of nature or art, from every quarter of the globe.

Most of the houses in London are built on a uniform plan. They consist of three or four stories above ground, with one under the level of the streets, containing the kitchens. In each story is a large room in front, and in the back is a smaller room, and the space occupied by the staircase. This however is only meant as to the general class of houses. Those of the nobility and persons of high fashion, though mostly plain and simple in the exterior, are internally constructed with all the variety of taste, elegance, and convenience, or which modern

architecture is distinguished*. Water is conveyed, into almost every house, by leaden pipes, and preserved in such quantities, that the inhabitants have a constant and even lavish supply. Nothing can be more commodious or cleanly than the interior of the houses; and this character extends generally to lodging-hotels, taverns, coffee-houses, and other places.

General ideas of London, for the use of a total Stranger.

The directions of the main streets of London follow the course of the river Thames from east to west, and the cross streets run, for the most part, in a direction from north to south.

There are two grand lines of streets from west to east. One of them, which may be called the *northern line*, commences from the Uxbridge road at the north side of Hyde Park, and under the successive names of Oxford-street, St. Gile's, Holbron, Skinner-street,

* In the great squares and principal streets, houses, according to their size, let from 200l. to 500l. per annum. In the second rate streets they let from 100l. to 200l. In the third and fourth rate streets, from 40l. to 100l. In the great trading streets, besides a premium for the lease according to its length, the rents run from 100l. to 400l. per annum. And in the second and third rate trading streets they run from 30l. to 40l. or 80l. per annum.

Newgate-street, Cheapside, Cornhill, and Leaden-hall-street, is continued on to Whitechapel and Mile-end on the Essex road.

The *southern line* commences on the Bath road at the south side of Hyde Park, and is continued under the successive names of Piccadilly, St. James's-street, Pall Mall, Charing-cross, Strand, Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill, St. Paul's Church-yard, Watling-street, Cannon-street, and Tower-street, to the Tower of London, whence it may be said to be further extended two miles along the river-side in Wapping.

The boundary of the Thames and the two grand lines of streets render it exceedingly easy, therefore, for any strangers to find their road in London, for there is scarcely any point of the town which is not within half a mile of one of these lines.

In another point of view, London divides itself into three great districts:—the west end of the town, the city, and the east end of the town.

The *west end of the town* is the most modern and elegant part of London; it is inhabited by the nobility and gentry, and is the seat of the government and of the court. It may be said to extend westward from the meridian of Charing-cross.

The *City*, in its familiar phrase, means the trading part of the town, extending with slight variations, from Charing-cross to the Meridi-

an of the Monument or the Tower; but, locally speaking, it is confined by a circle, the radius of which would reach about half a mile round St. Paul's Cathedral.

Eastward of the Meridian of Tower-hill, London may be considered as a *sea-port*; the inhabitants of this large district being in general connected with the shipping interests, and consisting either of owners or captains of vessels of merchants, ship-builders, sailors, or shop keepers, and others who maintain themselves by the business of this unrivalled port.

West of Blackfryars-bridge the banks of the Thames are rendered subservient at once to the objects of pleasure and business, but eastward of that bridge they are solely occupied by a line of warehouses, and devoted to the bustle of commerce.

The borough of Southwark, which lies to the south of the Thames, is chiefly inhabited by merchants and traders, and has only one main street, which extends from London-bridge into the country, and is called the Borough High-street. A fine street also extends from Blackfryars-Bridge leading into the country, and others are projecting which in time will confer more importance on this part of the metropolis.

Present Government of the Metropolis.

In tracing the outline of the present government of this metropolis, to the whole of which

PICTURE OF LONDON.

we shall, from this time, give the common name of London, it will be convenient to divide it into three principal parts, the city of London, with its dependencies ; the city and liberties of Westminster ; and the suburbs out of the jurisdiction of both these cities.

Civil Government of the city of London.

The entire civil government of the city of London is vested by charters or grants from the kings of England, in its own corporation or body of citizens. The city is divided into 26 principal districts, called wards ; and the corporation consists of—1. The *Lord Mayor* ; 2 The *Sheriffs* ; 3. The *Aldermen* ; 4. The *Common Council*.

The Corporation.

I. The *Lord Mayor* is chosen annually, in the following manner : On the 29th of September the livery, in Guildhall or common assembly, choose two aldermen by show of hands, who are presented to a court called the court of lord mayor and aldermen, by whom one of the aldermen so chosen (generally the first in seniority) is declared Lord Mayor elect ; and on the 9th of November following he enters upon his office.

The civil powers exercised by the corporation, or its officers, are very complete within its jurisdiction. The laws for the internal government of the city are wholly framed by its

own legislature, called the court of common council, consisting of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councilmen. The administration is entirely in the hands of the city, of which the lord mayor is the chief magistrate.

II. The two *Sheriffs* (who are strictly officers of the king, for many important purposes of his executive government) are chosen annually by the livery, not only for the city, but for the county of Middlesex, the same persons being sheriffs for London, and jointly forming one sheriff for the county.

III. The *aldermen* are chosen for life, by the householders of the several wards, being freemen, one for each ward, except Bridge-ward without, on a vacancy for which, the seignior alderman, or, as he is commonly called, the father of the city, is removed to this ward, and a new alderman is elected for the ward which he vacates.

The *aldermen* are the principal magistrates in their several wards. There are various courts in the city for trying the civil causes of its inhabitants, by judges, members, or officers, of the corporation. The lord mayor, the recorder, the common serjeant, (the principal law-officer of the city,) and the aldermen, are judges of Oyer and Terminer, that is, they are the king's judges to try capital offences and misdemeanors committed in the city of London

and county of Middlesex; and the aldermen are perpetual justices of the peace for the city.

IV. The *common council* consists of the mayor, 25 aldermen, and 236 members; these latter are chosen annually, by the householders, being freemen, in their several wards, the number for each ward being regulated by ancient custom, the body corporate having a power to extend the number.

In a word the administration in all its branches within the jurisdiction of the corporation, in all the cases embracing the city and part of the borough of Southwark, and in some cases extending beyond, is exercised by the corporation or its officers.

The borough of Southwark, as was before observed, was formerly independent of the city of London, till the reign of Edward III. A part has since been incorporated with the city under the appellation of Bridge-ward without: and has its officers appointed by the court of aldermen and common council, viz. an alderman of the Bridge-ward, high bailiff, steward, &c.

The Livery.

This is a numerable, respectable, and important elective body: in whom resides the election of the lord mayor, sheriffs, members of parliament, Chamberlain, bridge-masters, ale-conners, and auditors of the chamberlain's accounts, all of whom are chosen by their res-

pective guilds or companies from among the freemen forming the body of the livery.

Present Military Government.

The military government of the city of London was considerably changed by an act of parliament passed in 1794 ; under which two regiments of militia are raised in the city, by ballot, amounting together to 2,200 men. The officers are appointed by the commissioners of the king's lieutenancy for the city of London : and one regiment may, in certain cases, be placed by the king under any of his general officers, and marched to any part not exceeding twelve miles from the capital, or the nearest encampment ; the other, at all such times, to remain in the city of London. This is a species of regular force ; for the old establishment has fallen away to a mere, yet inconvenient, form.

General civil Government of the Parts of the Metropolis.

It remains to speak of the general civil government of the metropolis, not included in the several jurisdictions already mentioned. The suburbs in Middlesex are under the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace of the county, as part of the county. The county-hall for Middlesex is on Clerkenwell-green : and in sessions held there quarterly, great part of the civil government of the suburbs of middlesex is ex-

exercised. In Bow-street, Covent garden, is an office of police under the direction of certain justices of the peace for Middlesex, who dedicate their time chiefly to that office, where are examined the more serious cases of misdemeanor that happen in the suburbs in Middlesex.

Particular Police of the Metropolis, with Cautions relative to Swindlers, &c.

As it is of the highest importance to strangers to be able to obtain redress in case of injury, a list is subjoined of the police offices in London, in which magistrates sit every day.

The Mansion-house,

Guildhall,

Bow-street,

Queen's-square, Westminster,

Great Marlbro'-street,

Hatton-garden,

Worship-street,

Lambeth-street, Whitechapel,

High-street, Shadwell,

Union-street, Southwark,

Wapping New-stairs, for offences connected with the shipping and port of London.

The magistrates of these offices are appointed to hear and determine, in a summary way; particularly in cases relative to the customs, excise, and stamps; the game laws, hawkers and pedlars, pawnbrokers, friendly societies, highways, hackney coaches, carts, and other car-

riages, Quakers and others refusing to pay tithes, appeals of defaulters in parochial rates, misdemeanors committed by persons unlawfully pawning property not their own, bakers for short weight, &c. journeymen leaving their services in different trades, laborers not complying with their agreements and disorderly apprentices ; persons keeping disorderly houses ; nuisances against different acts of parliament ; acts of vagrancy by fraudulent lottery insurers, gaming-houses, fortune tellers ; or persons of ill fame found in avenues to public placés, with an intent to rob ; watching over the conduct of publicans, swearing in, charging and instructing parochial constables and head-boroughs from year to year, with regard to their duty, issuing warrants for privy searches, and in considering the cases of persons charged with being disorderly persons, or rogues and vagabonds, liable to be punished under the act of the 17th George II. cap. 5. and subsequent acts of parliament : in making orders to parish officers, beadles, and constables, in a variety of cases ; in parish removals, in billeting soldiers ; in considering the cases of poor persons applying for assistance, or admission to work-houses, in granting certificates and orders to the wives of persons serving in the militia, and also in attesting recruits for the army, and for examining the persons accused of treason, murder, coinage, and uttering base money, arson, manslaughter, forgery, burglary, larceny, sedition,

felonies of various descriptions, conspiracies, frauds, riots, assaults, and misdemeanors of different kinds.

A book of great popularity, written by a very celebrated magistrate, has spread an opinion among foreigners, among Englishmen residing in remote parts of the country, and even among many of the inhabitants of this city, of extreme depravity and dishonesty in the two large classes of *poor shop-keepers* and *laborers*. A police-officer may wish to turn the metropolis into a warehouse, filled with his sort of goods. But two of the things in London that fill the mind of the intelligent observer with the most delight are, the slightness of the restraints of the police, and the general good order that mutually illustrate each other. A few old men, called *watchmen*, mostly without arms, are the only guard through the night against depredations; and a few magistrates and police officers are the only persons whose employment is to detect and punish depredators; yet we venture to assert, that no city, in proportion to its trade, luxury, and population, is more free from danger to those who pass the streets at all hours, or from depredation, open or concealed, on property. This is an actual phenomenon in this metropolis: and is not to be explained on systems of police, but belongs to that happy union of moral causes, (the chief of which is the ancient freedom of all ranks in England,) which have planted deep in the poorest rank a

love of order, and a willingness to earn by industry the bread it eats.

In a city of the trade, wealth, and population, of London, it is unreasonable to expect that there will be no depredators among the laboring people, nor any receivers and venders of stolen goods among the poorest shopkeepers; but to confound the *general character* of that rank of the inhabitants of this metropolis, with the *exception*, is to treat the topic with a sufficient share of ignorance.

One of the most dangerous class of swindlers are, those pretended porters or clerks who attend about the doors or inns, at the time coaches are unloading; or, who watch the arrival of post chaises at the doors of coffee-houses. These fellows, by various artifices, frequently obtain possession of the luggage of a traveller, who has occasion to lament his want of suspicion in the loss of his clothes and other effects.

Another formidable nuisance to strangers is, the address and nimbleness of pick-pockets, who mix in every crowd, attend about the windows of print-shops, and frequent all public exhibitions and places of amusement. Persons who reside in London seldom suffer from this species of theft; they never permit the familiar advances of a stranger, however plausible his appearance, and whenever they have occasion to mix in a crowd, or to go to public places, they do not carry with them any articles of

great value, or they keep their attention fixed on their pockets. A man who saunters about *London* with pockets on the outside of his coat, or who mixes in great crowds with much property about him, without an especial care of his pockets, deserves no pity on account of the losses he may sustain.

Servants from the country are frequently swindled out of their master's property, by being intercepted in their way to deliver a parcel, by a swindler who pretends he was directed to meet the servant and receive the parcel. A servant should, on no account whatever, deliver a parcel entrusted to him, till it is within the house at which it is to be delivered. A species of swindlers, numerous and successful, are in the habit of finding diamond rings and crosses in the public streets; the trick is an old one, but persons from the country suffer very materially from listening to such sharpers. Itinerent vendors of fruit, especially the Jews, are constantly in the habit of *smashing*, or ringing the changes, viz. changing the good money given them for bad. This practice is carried to a shameful length.

Mock auctions, in which plated goods are sold for silver, and a variety of incredible frauds practiced upon the unwary, ought to be cautiously avoided. They may be in general known by a person being placed at the door, to invite in the passing stranger.

Advertising discounters are, almost without exception, the most nefarious of swindlers.

Advertising doctors ought equally to be pointed out as objects of caution, were it possible that any of the readers of this work could foolishly prefer the advice and the nostrums of the most ignorant and impudent impostors, to the aid of which, in case of ill-health, he may meet with from the regular faculty, some of whom reside in almost every street in the metropolis.

Strangers having business at Doctors' Commons, should previously know the address of a Proctor, as all the avenues are beset with inferior clerks or porters, who watch and accost strangers; whom they take into some office, where they are paid in proportion to the nature of the business, which is conducted not in the most respectable way, and never without extra charges, unwarranted by the profession.

Jews, who hawk goods about the streets, and always ask ten times what the articles are worth, with a view to obtain a bidding, ought always to be shunned.

Hackney-coachmen are frequently the circulators of counterfeit money; a particular attention should therefore be paid to whatever silver is taken of them, and care should be taken that they do not change the good silver which is given them for bad.

Travellers, who are unable to enter *London* before dark, are subject to two evils during the last stage, that of being robbed by highwaymen or footpads, or having their luggage cut from behind their carriage. They should, if possible, always make their arrangements so as to reach the metropolis by day-light.

Persons should be very particular as soon as they have called a hackney coach, to observe the number before they get into it. This precaution guards against impositions or unforeseen accidents. There is no other method of punishing coachmen who misbehave, nor chance of recovering property carelessly left in a coach, but by the recollection of the number. It is the duty of every person to refuse to get into any hackney coach which is in a dirty or unsound condition, and in which the horses are lame or decrepid, and the magistrates will justify such refusal, although the coach be called.

If the men who drive carts or drays behave ill, or do any damage, satisfaction or recompence may be obtained with the greatest ease, on taking their number, and summoning them before the commissioners, or magistrates, who, on all occasions, pay due respect to the complainant, and are sufficiently severe upon offenders.

If a person is in any way attacked or assaulted by thieves or others, whilst walking the streets by night, he should instantly call the

watch. A cry of "*watch*," three or four times repeated, will instantly bring up the assistance of several of the watchmen, and it is ten to one if the thief or assailant make his escape. Robberies by night, however, very seldom occur in the streets of London.

In asking questions, or enquiring the way, it is necessary always to apply at a shop or public-house, and never to rely upon the information which may be given by persons in the streets.

In walking the streets much unpleasant jostling may be saved, by attending to the established custom of taking the wall when it is on the right hand, and of giving it when it is on the left. This rule in walking is the opposite to that upon the road.

It ought to be universally known, that a very useful society for the prosecution and detection of cheats, swindlers, &c. has long been established in London, the secretary to which is Mr. Hunt, of Warwick-court, who is also solicitor to it.

Another society of this description holds its meetings at Mr. Poss's, No. 36, Essex-street, Strand, who is the secretary and solicitor; there is also another Society in St. John's parish, Southwark, on a similar plan.

The Population of London.

London is less populous for its extent, than many other great cities. The streets are

wider, and the inhabitants of every class, below the highest rank, enjoy more room for themselves and families than is usual for the same classes in foreign countries ; not only the merchant, the wealthy trader, and persons in liberal employments, occupy each an entire house, but most shopkeepers of the middling class, and some even of the lowest, have their houses to themselves : although many let out part of them to lodgers : from all these circumstances it is plain, that a given number of people is spread over a larger space in London, than in most foreign cities. From the report on the population of Great Britain published on the authority of an act passed in the 43d Geo. III. London, including the suburbs, appears to contain 837,906 settled inhabitants ; but, the great number of soldiers, mariners, provincial visitors, and foreigners, who are constantly in London for purposes of pleasure or business, extends the total population to nearly a million.*

The metropolis of England claims a distinct notice of the increase or diminution of its population, as well as of the population now existing in it. It is situated in two counties, divided by the river Thame. A thirteenth part may be added to the resident population of England

* The department of Paris is also contained in a circle extending eight English miles around the centre of that city : In it are rather more than 600,000 persons.

in general, for the mariners and soldiery ; but it is undeniable that 14,000 arrivals of trading shipping annually must make a constant, though fluctuating, accession to the resident population of the metropolis, to a larger amount than elsewhere. On this consideration, adding a twenty-fifth instead of a thirtieth part, the metropolis contains 900,000 persons.

Disease and Mortality.

In the year 1650, the total number of deaths was 8,764. In 1700, they were 19,443. In 1750, they were 23,727. In 1798, and 1799, they were 13000 in each year. And in 1800 they were 23,068, in 1801 they were 19,374, in 1806 they were 17,938, viz. 9215 males and 8723 females. In that year the following is a list of the principal diseases.

5405 died under two years of age,
 1374 between seventy and one hundred,
 1 upwards of one hundred,
 382 of asthma,
 348 of apoplexy,
 3996 of consumption,
 3602 of convulsions,
 763 of dropsy,
 1354 of fever,
 101 of gout,
 500 of inflammation,
 146 in a state of lunacy,
 590 of measles,

1158 of small pox,*
481 from teething.

Salubrity and Climate.

The broadness of the streets, and the space occupied by the bulk of families residing in

* In the year 1804 the number was reduced to 622 ; the small pox is happily losing its malignancy, from the introduction of the inoculation for the cow-pock ; a sure preventive, which, from its mildness and perfect safety, does not deserve the name of a disease. If it were possible entirely to prohibit inoculation for the small-pox, that disease would, no doubt, shortly become extinct. The cow-pock is said to have entirely eradicated the small-pox from several cities on the continent, but it is with sorrow that we perceive the barbarous neglect of parents in London in not adopting the mild cow-pock in lieu of the destroyer of human life, the small pox : in the year 1804 the deaths by the latter disease had been reduced by an increased inoculation of the cow-pock to 622, and any reasonable person from that circumstance alone, would we suppose be induced to prefer the one before the other, but the result appears from the bills of mortality to be directly opposite, and the evidence of facts of no avail ; in the year 1805 the deaths by small pox had increased from 622 in the preceeding year to 1685, and in 1806 they were 1158 !!

London, contribute greatly to health ; but there are a variety of circumstances tending to the same point. The greater part of the town is situated on rising ground ; the soil is of the best kind for residence, being sound and dry ; the lower parts are freed from moisture by subterraneous sewers or drains ; a broad and rapid river flowing through the heart of the town, and agitated twice in four-and-twenty hours by the tide, ventilates and purifies the whole ; the immense quantities of water conveyed into the houses, even the meanest, for domestic purposes, afford the means of cleanliness, one of the surest companions of health. In a word, although the atmosphere of London is too frequently moist, the weather often in extremes, and the change from one extreme to another frequently sudden, yet the metropolis may fairly be deemed one of the most healthy in the world.

During the four last years of the last century, Six's thermometer out of doors, averaged 49.6 ; the barometer 29.9 ; and the average annual depth of rain was nineteen inches ; on the hottest day during the four years, in June 1798, the thermometer stood at 86 ; and on the coldest day in December, 1796, it fell to 4, in that month it averaged 32.1 ; in December 1797, it averaged 42.7 ; in December 1798, 35.2 ; and in 1799, 34.3. There are about 209 days in the year without rain, and 156 in which it rains or snows ; about 12 is the average of

days in which it snows or sleets ; the number of cloudy days when the sun scarcely ever appears, is about 50 or 60 out of the 209.

Consumption of Provisions.

One cause of the general salubrity of London may be traced to the food of its inhabitants. Perhaps no city exists in the world, where the laboring people, and certainly none where the middling classes enjoy so large a share in the necessaries and inferior comforts of life, as in this metropolis ; and that liberality of condition is no doubt a powerful agent in the health, as well as the happiness of a people. The great quantity of animal food consumed in London is a proof of the excellent condition of the bulk of the inhabitants ; for though there are wealthy persons who waste a great deal of animal food in the composition of certain dishes, yet their number is so small, that the waste is not to be taken for much in comparison with the whole consumption.

Animal Food.—The number of bullocks annually consumed in London is estimated at 110,000 ; sheep 770,000 ; lambs 250,000 ; calves 250,000 ; hogs and pigs, 200,000 ; besides animals of other kinds. In speaking of the immense consumption of animal food in London, it does not give a perfect idea of it only to notice the number of animals brought to market ; the stranger should see their size and fine condition to enable him to judge of its full extent. The

increased consumption of the metropolis from its accumulated population, may be estimated from an average of the number of oxen and sheep sold at Smithfield, viz. from 1750 to 1758 75,331 oxen 623,091 sheep; from 1786 to 1794, 108,085 oxen 707,456 sheep.

But it is not only in number but in weight that there has been an astonishing increase; this has arisen from the improvements in breeding that have taken place in the last century. About the year 1700 the average weight of oxen killed for the London market was 370lbs; of calves 50lbs; of sheep 28lbs. and of lambs 18lbs; the average weight at present is of oxen 800lbs; of calves 140lbs; of sheep 80lbs; and of lambs 50lbs.

Milk.—The quantity of milk consumed in London surprises foreigners: and yet few strangers have even a suspicion of the amount of that consumption, which is not less than 6,980,000 gallons annually. The number of cows kept for this supply, is 8,500; the sum paid by the retailers of milk, to the cow-keepers, is stated at 317,400*l.* annually, on which the retailers lay an advance of *cent. per cent.* making the cost to the inhabitants the sum of 634,800*l.* Not content with this profit, the retailers add water to the milk, to the extent, on an average of a sixth part. Although the cow-keepers do not themselves adulterate the milk (it being the custom for the retailer to

contract for the milk of a certain number of cows, which are milked by his own people) yet they are not wholly to be acquitted of the guilt; for in many of the milk-rooms, where the milk is measured from the cow-keeper to the retailer, pumps are erected for the express purpose of furnishing water for the adulteration, which is openly performed in the presence of any person who happens to be on the spot.

Vegetables and Fruit.—There are 10,000 acres of ground, near the metropolis, cultivated wholly for vegetables, and about 3,000 acres for fruit, to supply the London consumption. The sum paid at market for vegetables, annually, is about 645,000*l.*; and for fruit about 400,000*l.*; independently of the advance of the retailers, which on an average is more than 200*l. per cent.* making the entire cost of vegetables and fruit for the London supply upwards of 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

Wheat, Coals, Ale, and Porter, &c.—The annual consumption of wheat in London, is 900,000 quarters, each containing eight Winchester bushels; of coals, 800,000 chaldrons, 36 bushels in each chaldron; of ale and porter,* 1,775,000 barrels, each containing 36 gal-

* The wholesome and excellent beverage of porter obtained its name about the year 1722, from the following circumstances. Prior to the above-mentioned period, the malt liquors in general use were *ale, beer, and twopenny*, and it

ions ; spiritous liquors and compounds 11,149
782 gallons ; wine, 65,000 pipes ; butter, ab

was customary for the drinkers of malt-lay
to call for a pint or tankard of *half* and
i. e. half of ale and half of beer ; half
ale and half of twopenny ; or half of beer
half of twopenny. In course of time it also
came the practice to call for a pint or tankard
of *three threads*, meaning a third of ale, beer
and twopenny ; and thus the publican had
trouble to go to three casks, and turn the
cocks for a pint of liquor. To avoid this
trouble and waste, a brewer, of the name of
Wood, conceived the idea of making a liquor
which should partake of the united flavor of
ale, *beer*, and *twopenny*. He did so, and
succeeded, calling it *entire* or *entire butt*,
meaning that it was entirely from one cask
butt, and being a hearty nourishing liquor
was very suitable for *porters* and other working
people. Hence it obtained its name of *porter*.

Messrs. Whitbread and Co's brewery
Chiswell-street, near Moorfields, is the largest
in London. The commodity produced in it
is so esteemed to be of the best quality of
brewed in the metropolis. The quantity of
porter brewed in the year in this house,
malt and hops were at a moderate price,
been above 200,000 barrels.

There is one stone cistern that contains
barrels, and there are 49 large oak vats

21,265,000 pounds ; and of cheese, 25,500,000 pounds.

of which contain 3500 barrels. One is 27 feet in height, and 22 feet in diameter, surrounded with iron hoops at every four or five inches distance, and towards the bottom it is covered with hoops. There are three boilers, each of which holds about 5000 barrels.

One of Mr. Watts's steam engines works the machinery. It pumps the water, wort, and beer, grinds the malt, stirs the mash-tubs, and raises the casks out of the cellars. It is able to do the work of 70 horses, though it is of a small size, being only a 24 inch cylinder, and does not make more noise than a spinning-wheel.

Whether the magnitude, or ingenuity of contrivance, is considered, this brewery is one of the greatest curiosities that is any where to be seen, and little less than half a millior sterling is employed in machinery, building materials.

We must not omit to mention, in this connection to a long but ill-founded belief, that Thames water alone would make good porter, since in this large brewery the water used is not from the Thames, but partly from the New River, and partly from a spring on the premises.

The quantity of porter brewed in London annually exceeds 1,200,000 barrels, of 36 gallons each ; the most considerable brew-

Fish, Poultry, &c.—The quantity of fish consumed in London is comparatively small, being excessively dear; and this is perhaps the most culpable defect in the supply of the capital, considering that the rivers of Britain, and the seas round her coast, teem with that delicate and useful food. There are not more, on an average, than 14,500 boats of cod and o

ries are those of *Whitbread, Brown, and Meux and Co. Barclay and Co. Hanbury Co. and Brown and Parry*, each of whom brew annually upwards of 100,000 barrels. Next in order to these stand *Felix Calvert and Combe and Co. Goodwyn and Co. Elliot, and John Calvert and Co. Clowes and Co, &c.*

Account of Strong Beer brewed from the 1st of July, 1806, to the 31st of July, 1807, by the principal Brewers of London.

	Barrels.
Meux and Co. - -	170,879
Barclay and Co. - -	166,600
Hanbury and Co. - -	135,972
Brown and Parry - -	125,654
Whitbread and Co. - -	104,251
Felix Calvert and Co. - -	82,004
Combe and Co. - -	80,273
Goodwyn and Co. - -	72,580
Elliot and Co. - -	47,383
Clowes and Co. - -	38,554
John Calvert and Co. - -	37,035
Hartford and Co. - -	33,223

sea fish, brought annually to the London market: exclusive of mackerel, which is sometimes plentiful, and tolerably cheap. Poultry is seldom at the tables of any but the wealthy and luxurious, the supply being, owing to the state of agriculture, inadequate to a general consumption, and the price most exorbitant. Although game is not sold publicly, the quantity consumed in London is very considerable, and it finds its way by presents, and even by clandestine sale, to the houses of the middling classes. Venison is sold in London, chiefly by the pastry-cooks at a moderate rate; but great part of the whole consumption of this article, (which is considerable) is at the tables of the proprietors of deer-parks, or their friends.

Quality of Provisions —Provisions in London are generally of the most excellent kind. A small portion, however, of the animal food is ill fed, and even some of it unfit for consumption, but if the poor were aware that this is really dearer than meat of the highest price, it would soon be banished from the London market, as it ought to be, for want of sale. However small the quantity a poor family can afford to consume, more nourishment would be derived from half that quantity of wholesome and well-fed meat, with a due proportion of vegetables. The improvement lately made in the breed and feeding of cattle and sheep, although greatly adding to the bulk, by no means tend to ameliorate the quality of the meat,

which, however it may astonish in point of size and fatness, is thus rendered coarse and insipid.

Quality of the Bread.—Bread is certainly very seldom adulterated ; if it be not by those bakers who sell under the assize price, and perhaps their professions may be a little suspected. The bread, in general, is very fine and sound.

Places of Worship.

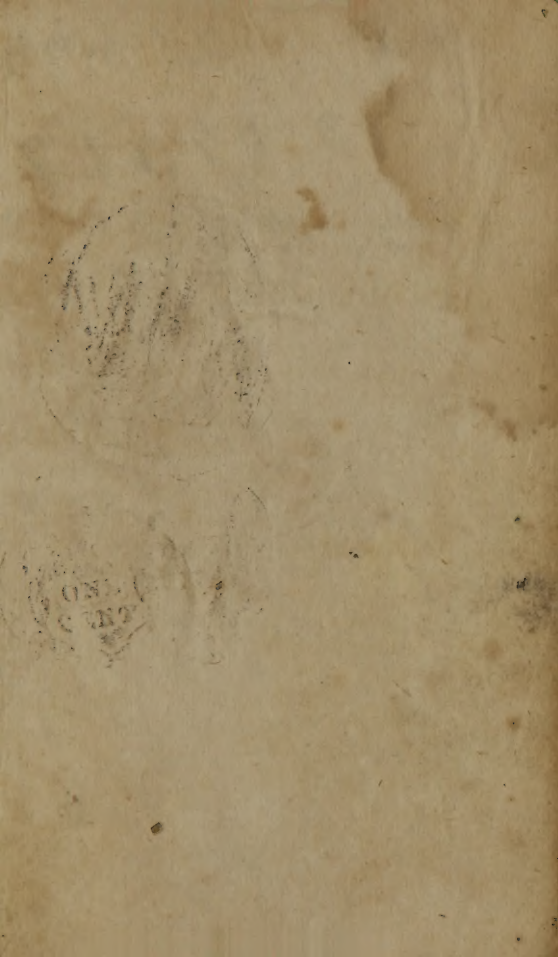
As a general toleration in religion prevails in this kingdom, London is distinguished by the number and variety of its places of worship. It contains 113 churches of the established religion ; 57 chapels of ease, being chapels of the established religion, in parishes the population of which is too great for the magnitude of their respective churches ; 11 Roman Catholic chapels ; 17 churches and chapels belonging to foreign protestants ; synagogues, or places of worship of the Jews ; and 142 meeting-houses or places of worship belonging to different English protestants dissenting from the established religion ; making a total of 346.

Manufactures.

The manufactures of London are often overlooked in the midst of its other and more prominent branches of commerce ; but, whether they are considered in their magnitude or value, they are very important. They consist chief-

of fine goods and articles of elegant use, ought to more than the ordinary degree of perfection, such as cutlery, jewellery, articles of gold and silver, japan ware, cut glass, cabinet-work, and gentlemen's carriages: or of secular articles that require a metropolis, or at least, or a great mart, for their consumption, or for sale, such as porter, English wines, brandy, refined sugar, soap, &c. Nothing surpasses the beauty of many of the former articles; nor any thing the extent and value of the manufactories of the latter kind. A most extensive silk manufactory is carried on by the inhabitants of Spital Fields, Shoreditch, and Islington parishes; the persons employed amounting to about 7000. In Clerkenwell, about the same number of persons are employed in the different branches of the watch manufactory. The coach-builders and harness-makers are rather numerous, and have brought their respective works to such a high degree of perfection as far to exceed, in point of elegance, those made at any other place in the metropolis.

FINIS.



Joseph Dickinson

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